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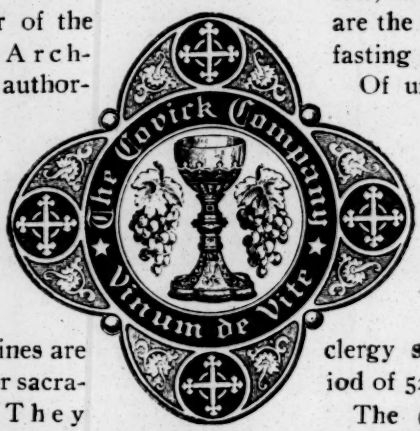

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THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW

NINTH SERIES.—VOL. I.—(LXXXI).—SEPTEMBER, 1929.—NO. 3.

THE YOUNG PRIEST'S DILEMMA.

THE serious problem that every newly ordained priest must face is to reconcile the ideals of priestly life which he has formed during the years of his seminary training with the real issues of priestly activity and the practical conditions in which this activity is to be exercised. During this period of adjustment the new curate, for such he usually is, naturally seeks help from those who have travelled a goodly way on the road on which he is just entering, and he expects to learn from their words and still more from their example how to work out his ideals in real life. Being an intelligent and well-educated gentleman, he knows that in the lives of even the best men there is bound to be, taking human nature for what it is, some inconsistency between belief and practice, between the world of ideals and the world of action. He is indeed prepared to make some allowance for human weakness and frailty, but as a rule he is not ready to find men who are considered by the communities in which they labor to be excellent priests ignoring or, what is worse, ridiculing what he has been taught in the seminary to hold as sacred duties of the ministry. It is of course the good fortune of not a few newly ordained priests to be placed in an environment of true priestliness as exemplified in the lives of the pastor and fellow-assistants. Unfortunately, however, there are others who during their first months of priestly life are sorely tried and puzzled by the contrast between what they expected to find and what they actually discover in the lives of the good men around them.

Perhaps in no other matter is this contrast felt more keenly than in that of the daily meditation. In the mind of many a young priest the question soon resolves itself into a dilemma: either the seminary authorities vastly exaggerated the importance and necessity of daily meditation in the life of a priest, or priests are really not the good men, the excellent men they seem to be and are actually thought to be by other members of the clergy and by the laity. For, without prying suspiciously into the lives of pastors or curates, he soon comes to the conclusion that many priests, young and old, do not make a meditation, and at the same time he cannot but note the fact that most of these same priests live blameless lives, are interested in their work, zealous in meeting the demands of their ministry to souls, and enjoy as a consequence an excellent reputation with their parishioners and their brother-priests.

As this seeming fact is driven deeper and deeper into his consciousness and its realization made more and more vivid, and as at this period of his career it becomes increasingly more difficult to get to bed in such time as to make getting up in the morning for meditation more than just morally possible, our young priest's convictions brought from the seminary on the necessity of daily meditation are gradually shaken, and his resolutions break down. He finally extricates himself from the uncomfortable dilemma and settles down to the business of life with the agreeable solution that meditation may be a fine thing in the ideal, a highly useful exercise for those who lead a leisurely and not too strenuous existence, but certainly not a necessary means of persevering fidelity in the priesthood; that without meditation he may not be eligible for enrollment among the canonized saints, but that he can nevertheless, like many others, be a good priest, save his soul and perform his priestly duties conscientiously. Should the memory of lessons learned in the seminary invade the inner sanctum of his mind and disturb his newly acquired equilibrium, he quickly banishes the unwelcome intruder by repeating to himself, loudly and courageously, the phrase which he has heard somewhere since his ordination that seminary indications are meant to serve as ideals, but that many of them, particularly this one concerning daily meditation, are wholly or highly impracticable.

Does it ever occur to our young priest to ask himself the question whether in solving the annoying dilemma by setting aside the seminary teaching regarding meditation, he may not at the same time be disregarding the directions of the Church herself? Now, the mind of the Church has been made perfectly clear, if never before, at least during these last twenty years. The new Code of Canon Law, which by the way does not profess to set forth so much the highest ideals as the essential duties of priestly life, urges bishops to see to it that their priests devote every day a portion of their time to mental prayer (Can. 125). Commentators on this text of the Code agree in saying that, while on the one hand the Church in these words does not mean to impose daily meditation in the same way as she does the Breviary, that is, under pain of mortal sin, she does on the other hand propose meditation not merely as a counsel, not as something which, however fine it may be, is to remain a matter of individual choice, but as an efficacious, important and morally necessary means of fulfilling the duty arising from sacerdotal ordination and clearly pointed out in a preceding canon of the Code. "Clerics are bound to a higher degree of internal and external sanctity than are laymen, to whom they owe the example of all virtues" (Can. 124).

This legal language of the Code is but the dry, lifeless summary of the vibrant words of Pope Pius X. In his "Exhortation to the Clergy," a heart-to-heart talk with his brother-priests, delivered on the occasion of the golden jubilee of his priesthood (4 August, 1908), he took the priests of the whole world into his confidence and assured them that in the midst of all his engrossing cares the one matter which preoccupied him above all others was that all priests "should be completely what their state requires them to be"—saintly men—"whose thoughts are fixed only on heavenly things and who strive by all means to lead men thither. . . . Sanctity alone makes us what our divine vocation requires us to be. . . We are convinced that it is principally on this that the present welfare and the future hopes of religion depend." After driving home in a most forceful manner the need of priestly sanctity, the Holy Father pointed out with no lesser degree of cogency the means by which this sanctity is to be acquired and developed. Among

these means he gave the first place to prayer, and more particularly, to *mental prayer,* to the consideration of which he devoted fully one-fifth of his entire exhortation. He insisted repeatedly and in divers ways on its necessity. "It is of the first importance that a certain time should be allotted every day for meditation on the things of eternity. *No priest can omit this without being guilty of serious negligence and to the detriment of his soul.*" Finally, after having shown the advantages of mental prayer, the Holy Father brought this part of his address to a close by saying that what he had said on the matter "teaches and admonishes us not only how salutary it is in every way, but how very necessary. . . It is apparent then that there exists a great and urgent necessity to return daily to the contemplation of eternal things. . ."

Comment on these passages is superfluous; they speak for themselves and drive home with power and clearness the lesson of the importance and the necessity of daily meditation. Could any seminary rector or spiritual director speak more emphatically, more unequivocally?

These words, let us not forget it, are the words of the Vicar of Christ. It was precisely when he was urging his brother-priests to be faithful to the practice of daily meditation that he said: "Let this exhortation of ours, which is that of Christ the Lord, take deep root." As believing Catholics we are glad to follow in all things the directions of the Sovereign Pontiff. We were happy indeed and a hundredfold blessed in our obedience to this same Vicar of Christ when he urged upon us frequent Communion and the Communion of innocent children, notwithstanding the fact that the directions in point went counter to the personal convictions of some very good priests. Now, is there any reason why a priest should be less prompt to follow the guidance of the Vicar of Christ when this guidance bears on his personal, priestly life?

Moreover, this particular direction emanates from one of the most saintly men that have ever occupied the throne of Saint Peter. Every since his death in 1914, pilgrims and tourists have been deeply impressed and greatly edified by the fact that at almost every hour during which admission can be had to his tomb people are to be seen kneeling beside the plain, coffin-like monument that marks the place of his burial, im-

ploring his intercession, even as they would pray at the shrine of a canonized saint.

But Pius X was not only saintly; he was eminently practical. He knew by personal experience the entire range of priestly ministration, for he had been successively curate, pastor, spiritual director and seminary rector before becoming Bishop of Mantua and later Cardinal Archbishop of Venice. He was therefore thoroughly acquainted with the life of a priest in the active ministry and it was from this well-rounded experience that he drew the conviction that meditation is a necessity in all the ranks of the clergy. His word alone might well have sufficed, but in order to strengthen his appeal he set himself the further task of adding reasons to authority.

1. A priest needs to meditate, he tells us, in order to foster and maintain the spirit of faith, the realization of invisible realities, the sense of God's presence and of habitual union with Him, which alone can enable a priest to make recitation of the Divine Office a real prayer, to celebrate Holy Mass, administer the Sacraments and perform his other duties in a Christ-like way, with proper attention and devotion. Priests who do not meditate, he says, perform "these sacred duties negligently, coldly, perhaps even unworthily".

2. He must have recourse to meditation in order to strengthen his mind and will, to protect himself against the temptations and allurements he may find in his intercourse with the world and even in the very discharge of his sacred duties.

3. He must know how to meditate in order to preach the word of God efficiently and effectively, "for, when priests, not accustomed to converse with God, speak of Him to others . . . their preaching of the Gospel seems to be, as it were, half dead".

4. The priest must meditate in order that he may be by his personal character what he is by his mission and powers—another Christ. The Holy Father brings this last appeal for daily meditation to a close with the words of the Imitation: "Let our chief care, therefore, be to meditate on the life of Christ."

Pope Pius X is by no means a solitary figure in his insistence on the importance and necessity of daily meditation. Bishop

Hedley, who can hardly be accused of having lacked a sense of the real and practical in priestly life and work, makes a similar appeal and advances arguments very like those of the Sovereign Pontiff. "Our progress and even our salvation depend in a great measure on our mental prayer. . . Our vocal prayer will remain words and nothing more unless we practise mental prayer. . . It is a pernicious mistake to suppose that any one can work for God while neglecting mental prayer."[1] Elsewhere he says: "Do not forget the consequences of neglecting mental prayer altogether. You will begin to forget God; you will become worldly; your life will become confused, without motives, order or direction. . . There will be a growing distaste for spiritual duties. . . Mass will be poorly said and there will be no unction or blessing in your pastoral work."[2]

The great Cardinal Manning has the same message. In several places scattered throughout his work on the *Eternal Priesthood* he speaks of mental prayer and its necessity. To quote only one instance out of many. "The first effect of mental prayer is the realization of the objects of faith, that is, of the world unseen as if it were visible, and of the future as if it were present. . . This realization of unseen and heavenly things is better than all external rules to guard and strengthen a priest".[3]

In taking issue then with the teaching of the seminary officials and, howsoever unconscious of the fact he may be, with spiritual writers and the Holy Father himself, on the necessity of meditation, our young priest has chosen to rest his case on the "many good priests who never make a meditation". Now, in the first place it is obvious that in casting about for a solution of his problem, he has set up his structure on a very insecure and extremely dangerous foundation; for, the wrongful practice, if it be a fact, of otherwise good priests can never offset the clear and compelling teaching of the Church and her able spokesmen. Moreover, it should go without saying that in his choice of a standard on which to fashion at least a goodly part of his spiritual life he should have inquired honestly of himself whether his observation of the lives

[1] *Retreat for Priests*, pp. 243, 246.
[2] Ibid., pp. 89, 90.
[3] Pp. 97-99.

of priests about him has been complete and objective enough to warrant the broad conclusion that many good priests never make a meditation.

It is patently impossible to procure statistical information concerning the number of priests who make or who fail to make a meditation. Not a few young priests have been greatly edified by seeing the pastor make his morning meditation in the sanctuary before the Blessed Sacrament and to learn that this has been his invariable practice since the day of his ordination. Retreat-masters tell us that a number of priests make it a matter of confession to have missed their meditation four or five times during the entire year. Such cases of fidelity to daily meditation, moreover, are found among men who do not possess among their brethren any special reputation for clerical piety and who would themselves be the last to lay claims to any extraordinary degree of devotion.

Not infrequently fine priests are known to say that they can not make a meditation and have given up the attempt long ago. The statement is often misleading, for if we once get to know them as they are we soon discover that what they mean to say is simply this: they do not make a formal meditation as they once did in the seminary by using a book and by following a strict method, going over in logical order the various points of considerations, self-examinations, affections, petitions, and resolutions. They do, however, spend daily a half hour or an hour before the Tabernacle either as a preparation for Holy Mass or as a visit in the later afternoon or at the end of the day. There they commune silently with their Divine Guest. They offer Him in their own name and in the name of their people adoration and love and thanksgiving and reparation; they place in His hands their problems, their difficulties, their hopes and their fears; they implore His blessing on their work; they beg Him to touch the hearts of sinners whom they are trying to restore to the bosom of the Father, to keep the souls of the children pure and innocent, to comfort and strengthen and protect the sick and the dying; they renew their consecration to His service: "Behold I come to do Thy will. . . The Lord is my portion"; they look into His eyes and ask Him to be ever in their hearts and on their lips in all they do and say: "Dominus sit in corde meo et labiis meis";

and before taking their leave they ask Him as friend to friend: "Domine, quid me vis facere?"

All this looks to be and really is very different from the formal meditation they were taught to make at the beginning of their seminary course. But, any one even slightly familiar with the science of mental prayer knows that such a heart-to-heart talk with our Blessed Saviour is more excellent and more fruitful than discursive meditation, of which it is the normal development.

There are again other priests who have no set time for mental prayer, who do not make a regular meditation. And still, if we look with real understanding, we can find in their daily program substitutes or substantial equivalents. These men read devoutly the lives of the saints, spiritual treatises or devotional books, or they make a careful and prayerful study of the Gospels; they are faithful to the weekly hour of adoration, to the daily recitation of the rosary, and in many cases to a short daily visit to the Blessed Sacrament. From these various exercises they draw the same spiritual nourishment as is generally supplied by formal meditation, but as a rule in a lesser degree and in the measure in which these exercises serve to unite their mind and heart with God by thought, worship, and petition. It can not be doubted that there are such priests who without regular or formal meditation are truly men of prayer, who have a lively sense of God's presence, and who all the day long have frequent recourse to our Lord in fervent ejaculations.

Unfortunately, we cannot deny on the other hand that there are some priests in whose lives we look in vain, no matter how sympathetic be the search, for either methodical meditation or its equivalents.

Just how many there are who belong to each of these four groups of priests, no one can say. What can, however, be said without fear of contradiction is that all *fine* priests, those who have retained the ideals of their ordination, those who strive to be Christ-like men, those who are looked up to by the clergy and the laity as model priests, do make a meditation in one form or another. It is equally certain that the few unfortunate priests who have been unfaithful to their sacred trust and have disgraced their priesthood, are men who had long since

given up the practice of mental prayer. The question naturally occurs here whether there are many who make no meditation whatever and are nevertheless good, though not fine priests. One might hazard an opinion on their number and on their title to be called "good priests"; but one can not hope to attain to anything approaching certitude in a matter so essentially personal. But granting that some obscurity must necessarily remain about the truth of the statement heard unfortunately too often that many good priests do not make a meditation, it is perfectly evident from all that has been said that the statement requires considerable and careful qualification both as to the number of priests who make no meditation in any form whatever and as to their inherent goodness.

Pope Pius X in drawing an argument for the necessity of meditation from the lives of priests who neglect it, does not indeed go so far as to assert that all who fail to perform this duty are always and necessarily unfaithful priests, bad priests. He does however affirm in no uncertain terms that they perform their sacred duties coldly and negligently and that they run the risk of performing them unworthily.

Hence, the newly ordained priest who begins to experience difficulties in carrying out this important exercise of meditation, who, sorely tried, decides to discontinue the practice because of his supposed observation of its absence in the lives of the many good priests about him, thus solving once and for all his annoying dilemma, will do well to read and reread the pages of the "Exhortation to the Clergy" written by Pius X after fifty years of intimate contact with thousands of priests in every rank and position in the Church. He will understand then the folly of opposing his necessarily imperfect experience of several months in the priesthood, circumscribed by the very narrow limits of his immediate priestly acquaintances, to the mature, balanced and divinely guided wisdom of the Vicar of Christ. He will realize then how unsound is his philosophy of life, how weak his dilemma, how false his conclusion. He will see then that by giving up mental prayer he automatically renounces every ambition of being the Christ-like priest he dreamed of on the morning of his ordination and that he even runs the risk of becoming unfaithful to the obligations which that solemn consecration placed upon him. And if he has

retained even a little of the fervor of his priesthood, he will determine to keep up, in spite of difficulties and discouragements, whether they come from within himself or without, his daily heart-to-heart talks with our Lord, in order to make sure of his perseverance in priestly holiness and to remain or to become in character as well as in power and mission an *alter Christus.*

A. VIÉBAN, S.S.

Baltimore, Maryland.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE IDEA OF FAITH IN PROTESTANT SECTS.*

IV. "THE COPERNICUS OF THEOLOGY."

SUCH is the name given by a modern living admirer to F. D. E. Schleiermacher (1768-1834). Is he really in a class by himself? Can anyone justly apply the title used to a man like Schleiermacher but little known, if known at all, by the general Protestant public A chorus of authorities rises to assure us that Schleiermacher does truly belong to a class of this kind. "The entire theology of the last half-century, as far as it seeks at all to remain in touch with critical thought, has been in some degree or other influenced by the theological systems of Schleiermacher".[1] He is the "Father of Modern Theology", says another authority;[2] the "Founder of Modern Protestant Theology", chimes in a second;[3] the "Founder of Progressive Protestant Theology", echoes a third;[4] properly Schleiermacher can be compared to Origen and to Calvin, insists another;[5] "he has reigned nearly a hundred years over German Protestantism", adds one writer;[6] Schleiermacher is

* The first part of this study appeared in the August number.

[1] Pfleiderer, O., *The Development of Theology in Germany since Kant,* trans. J. F. Smith, New York, Macmillan, 1909[3]: 122.

[2] Hodge, C. W., "Review of 'The Reformed Principle of Authority' by Hospers", in *Princeton Theological Review,* v. 23 (July, 1925), no. 3: 465.

[3] Funk, F. X., *Manual of Church History,* trans. Cappadelta, St. Louis, Herder, 1910: II, 267.

[4] Robinson, D. S., *The God of the Liberal Christian,* New York, Appleton, 1926: 49.

[5] *New International Encyclopedia,* v. 20: 543.

[6] Goyau, G., apud Baudrillart, A., *The Catholic Church, the Renaissance and Protestantism,* trans. Mrs. Gibbs, London, Kegan Paul, 1908: 287.

the "most imposing figure since Luther", an English divine urges.[7] So perhaps it may be admitted that from one point of view "Schleiermacher is the Copernicus of theology just as Kant is the Copernicus of philosophy".[8] Yet how, as regards the notion of faith, can this be asserted? How explain eulogia such as the preceding, or battle-cries like "Back to Schleiermacher, and from Schleiermacher forward!"?[9] Fortunately clear statement here is possible: "Schleiermacher turned men's attention . . . to an interpretation of God and the divine things based upon an analysis of actual religious experience".[10] Esoteric, if you will, yet this statement stakes out Schleiermacher's claim to fame in the theological prospecting; it is the "multum in parvo" of Schleiermacher and his teaching.

The history of Schleiermacher's notion of faith reads like many another up to a certain point.[11] Like not a few of his day, it may be supposed, he drank in from Semler's classes at Halle, the latter's distinction between public and private religion. Plato was one of Schleiermacher's favorites at the University as well as in later life; the sentimentalist Jakobi affected him and Romanticism moved him. Spinoza's works became familar to him, and it is said that in the exercise of his duties as chaplain at the Charité Hospital in Berlin, Schleiermacher "made Kant more and more his master", and that from "Fichte and Schelling he accepted ideas." He had started out in life with the orthodox notions of faith as trust. At least this lay implicit in his early training under his father, a Prussian army chaplain of the Reformed confession. His "epoch-making" "Reden über die Religion" (1799) gave "the programme of his subsequent theological system." His "Monologen", being ethical in character and purpose, does not concern us, but the full development of the "Reden" came with Schleiermacher's "Der Christliche Glaube nach den Grundsaetzen der evangelischen Kirche" (1821-22; greatly altered edition, 1830-31), the more commonly styled "Glaubenslehre" already mentioned above.

[7] Pullan, L., *Religion Since the Reformation*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1923: 182.

[8] Wobbermin, apud Robinson, *op. cit.*, 49.

[9] Wobbermin, *loc. cit.*, 50.

[10] Ibid., 49.

[11] *Encyclopedia Britannica*, v. 24, 330: article "Schleiermacher", by Smith.

"The Christian faith, as Schleiermacher showed, does not consist in any number of positive doctrinal propositions such as have arisen from intellectual reflection upon that faith; this faith is not a doctrine, or a system of doctrines, but a condition of *devout feeling* (our italics), a fact accordingly of inward experience, neither produced by thought nor depending on its existence, but, like all experience, simply an object to be observed and described".[12] It was of this work, moreover, that Strauss wrote what has been cited: "None of the leading propositions of the first part of Schleiermacher's "Glaubenslehre" can be fully understood save as they are re-translated into the formulae of Spinoza, from which they were originally taken".[13] Religion therefore, or religious faith to be more explicit, merely is a question of feeling, not of conviction; it is a sentiment, an affair of the heart.[14] In the "Reden" this "pantheistic tendency derived from Spinoza" comes into the clear light of day, just as Fichte's subjective idealism colors the ethical "Monologen".[15] "His real work and his great work", according to an English scholar of the Anglican communion, "was to teach, and to teach from the heart, that the Christian religion was and is created by the impression which the Person of Christ produced and still produces"; "no confession", therefore, "is of any value unless it is the outcome of experience".[16]

A comparison between Schleiermacher and Luther may not be amiss at this juncture. For the Reformer, Sacred Scripture was the rule of faith, the norm by which interior assent was to be regulated; of course this assent had been largely overlooked in the emphais on trust or confidence, as has been noted before now. "Sin boldly, but believe more boldly still!" For Schleiermacher, the Holy Scriptures do not stand as the rule of faith; "above all, the Scriptures cannot, from Schleiermacher's position, be any longer regarded as the foundation of faith", a German historian affirms.[17] Schleiermacher made

[12] Pfleiderer, *op. cit.*, 103.

[13] Pfleiderer, *op. cit.*, 110.

[14] Fillion, L. Cl., *Les Étapes du rationalisme*, Paris, Lethielleux, 1911: 48-49.

[15] *New International Encyclopedia, loc. cit.*

[16] Pullan, *op. cit.*, 183, 185.

[17] Pfleiderer, *op. cit.*, 106.

concessions to the unbelief of his day by glorifying the "phrase of deliverance" uttered by Lessing in the previous generation, in fact if not "ex professo"; Luther fought more than one battle in behalf of what he thought was orthodoxy. Schleiermacher tried to combine in one amalgam divergent views in religion and on religious faith as well as on many other things; Luther insisted upon obedience to an external rule of authority, the Bible. On the one hand, Schleiermacher is "realistic and idealistic, individualistic and universalistic, monistic and dualistic, sensationalist and intellectualist, naturalist and supernaturalist, rationalist and mystic, gnostic and agnostic";[18] on the other hand, no one could ever claim Luther for a "Vermittler" in religion. On one thing, however, these two logically agree: Luther placed faith essentially, it would seem, in trust which is volitional in character. Schleiermacher would never have been satisfied with the "pius credulitatis affectus" alone of the Scholastics in his definition. For Schleiermacher, religion and therefore faith "consist essentially in the 'feeling of absolute dependence'",[19] hence no Protestant can be bound by dogma.[20]

Can this change be said to be really an evolution, an unfolding of the sixteenth-centure doctrine? Some people tell us indeed that "this individualistic and mystical note" of Luther and of Calvin "was elaborated by such thinkers as Schleiermacher. . . ."[21] An eminent Protestant adds that with Schleiermacher "the Protestant conscience finally passed the strait which separates the theology of authority from the theology of experience".[22] A progression therefore seems to have taken place. Luther's advice to believe boldly has been carried to a terrible consequence, and its latest advocates have come to take stock only in what goes on within themselves. The doctrine of sentiment rules out old-fashioned faith for good.

[18] *Encyclopedia Britannica, loc. cit.*, v. 24, 333.

[19] *New International Ency., loc. cit.*

[20] Pullan, *op. cit.*, 183.

[21] Macklin, J. M., *The Survival Value of Christianity*, New York, Harcourt Brace, 1926: 191.

[22] Sabatier, A., apud Viéban, A., "Modernism and Protestantism", *Ecclesiastical Review*, Phila., v. 41 (Aug. 1909), 144.

The effect of Schleiermacher's work follows naturally from his own intrinsic importance. Justly the Berlin professor's work can be said to mark an "epoch in the history of Christian thought".[23] It is claimed that "his influence over the Protestant Church for a quarter century was most marked, and he may almost be said to have dominated contemporary German theology" (ib.). This indeed is putting the case with caution. So far at least that statement will stand, it is believed, from what has been set down regarding the unique position of Schleiermacher, the history of the introduction of his ideas to the theological world, the balancing of Schleiermacher's notions on faith with those of Luther, and the all too patent fact of a development from Reformation principles in Schleiermacher's teaching on faith. Enthusiasts have acclaimed as the precursor of the new kingdom the theologian Lessing; in that case, Lessing and his time must have been an age of the prophets. It is no great surprise then to hear Schleiermacher hailed as the Messias of Modern Protestantism. A messias must have a kingdom; and it is to this kingdom of theologians that we now turn.

V.

Theologians Without Theology.

The foremost among Schleiermacher's successors stands Albrecht Ritschl (1822-1889). The mantle of the former great thinker fell, it is said, to Ritschl.[24] Like Schleiermacher, Ritchl underwent the influence of Kant, besides that of Hegel; at Göttingen his addresses show "the impression made upon his mind by his enthusiastic studies of Kant and Schleiermacher".[25] Ritschl himself claimed to carry out the work of Luther and Schleiermacher; and by stressing the notion of feeling in faith, that is to say trust, (he more favored the latter it would seem), Ritschl followed along at no great distance behind the author of the "Glaubenslehre". For instance, Ritschl could agree that no confession of faith amounted to anything, except as an expression for the Christian con-

[23] *New International Ency., loc. cit.*
[24] Pullan, *op. cit.*, 187.
[25] *Encyclopedia Britannica*, v. 23, 367.

sciousness of a community.[26] At this point precisely lies his "differentia specifica" from predecessors, in that Ritschl claimed the Christian community as the basis for faith. Ritschlian religion and Ritschlian faith were something social; as far as its historical character was concerned, "faith . . . is independent of the results of historical research".[27] Ritschl is said to have "dressed up" Protestant theology in such a way as to make it compatible with philosophical and historical subjectivism.[28]

Ritschl holds second place to Schleiermacher. "Thanks to Ritschl", we are told, "the most incredulous minds could delude themselves with the idea that they were religious".[29] A far cry, truly, from the early days of Protestantism. Yet one of Ritschl's most able disciples sees in the faith-knowledge theories of Ritschl only the logical outcome of evangelical theology for over two hundred years. Religious truth has become purely subjective, nothing proves it to be outside the believer's mind; and why? Simply because it does not exist. Each believer (whatever this may mean to Ritschl and his followers) makes his own set of beliefs. "Dogma is regarded as the product of a religious mind, the spontaneous growth of personal religion".[30] God, for Ritschl, is the need we have for help in our lives; God is the "correlative to human trust".[31] For Ritschl nothing is left but "practical experience"; "'faith' knows God in His active relation to the 'kingdom', but not at all as 'self-existent'" (ib).

The progeny of such theologians as Ritschl and his forebear Schleiermacher lacks nothing in eloquence. How can it be, we might be tempted to ask, that writers and preachers like Auguste Sabatier, Ménégoz, Réville, Jülicher and Schmiedel, not to speak of the scholarly Harnack and the winning Fosdick, go on pleading like theological Ciceros and Demosthenes for Christianity? The problem very likely is chiefly psycho-

[26] Pullan, *op. cit.*, 185.

[27] Schoen, apud Baudrillart, A., *The Catholic Church, the Renaissance and Protestantism*, trans. Mrs. Gibbs, London, Kegan Paul, 1908: 289.

[28] Baudrillart, *op. cit.*, 290.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid.

[31] *Encyclopedia Britannica, loc. cit.*, 368.

logical. It can hardly be doubted, however, what their notions regarding faith amount to in sum.

In Berlin Adolph Harnack (b. 1851) for instance does not sit silent. The first to call Lessing's denotation of religion as something sentimental, the "phrase of deliverance", this same Mr. Harnack naturally enough is quite content with watered-down Christianity. Indeed, Harnack has succeeded in simplyfying Christianity to a single sentence, namely, to live the life of belief in the Fatherhood of God.[32] Harnack at least can claim the merit of being to some extent definite, a virtue not often found in his colleagues. Notice however that the *life,* the *living,* the *practice,* is what is important, not any intellectual assent or belief. According to Harnack there remains no uncertainity as to the Fatherhood of God; but what about the rest of Christianity? "Harnack leaves us in complete uncertainty whether we are to take as the genuine, permanent constituents of Christianity all that is reported in the Gospels as the preaching of Jesus. . . ."[33] Nobody ever understood St. Paul's definition of faith "sperandarum substantia rerum, argumentum non apparentium" until Luther's day, in Harnack's opinion, with the exception of second-century Marcion; even this man, who to Mr. Harnack's eyes appears no mean hero, had rather badly comprehended faith too.[34] The "Wesen des Christentums", or essence of Christianity, for Harnack rests not at all in foolish belief, now outworn and to be discarded, but in this, that Christianity fulfills better than any other religion the religious sense of the religious heart. Christ's religious experience, if we believe Harnack, paved the way for all living after Him, nothing more.[35] Christian belief, according to the notion of this Berlin professor, is the "work of the Hellenic spirit upon the Gospel soil".[36]

In France and Switzerland Réville, Ménégoz and Auguste Sabatier have been active. Réville (d. 1908) claims that Liberal Protestants "have freed themselves from the tra-

[32] Brunhes, G., "Christianisme et Catholicisme", Paris, Beauchesne, 1924[2]: 135.

[33] Pfleiderer, *op. cit.,* 299.

[34] Prat, F., *La Théologie de St. Paul,* Paris, Beauchesne, 1925[9]: II, 279.

[35] Tanquerey, Ad., *Synopsis Theologiae Dogmaticae,* Tournai, Desclée, I, 1925[20]: 701-702.

[36] Viéban, *loc. cit.,* 146.

ditional faith, Catholic or Protestant".[37] What is, in Réville's mind, this Liberal Protestantism? He makes haste to answer: "it is a religion without dogmas. . . . It includes men who retain a considerable number of traditional doctrines together with others who profess a spiritualistic Pantheism. . . . Together with all true free-thinking it rejects every religious authority external to man" (ib). Réville's words sound not a little like those of the "Copernicus of Theology" himself in his most all-engulfing mood. Let us pass on to Ménégoz. Co-founder of the system known as "Symbolo-Fideism", or simply Fideism, Ménégoz tells us of the evolution in his notions of religion. Ménégoz started out, he says, from the orthodox Lutheran principle (and surely that implied a real faith, an intellectual assent, in spite of false emphasis) but he went so far afield that he ended with an idea of "salvation by faith independently of beliefs".[38] Belief without belief, that indeed is something strange. It remains strange, too, even when we realize that something must have happened to the reality behind the word "faith" in Ménégoz's brain from the time it first went in there until the time of the expression just given. It might be said that there is present here the whole evolution exemplified for us in the microcosmic process described by Ménégoz in his own words.

Auguste Sabatier (d. 1901) may well delay us a moment. A man of no little eloquence, a member of the Ritschlian school in theology, a leader in the attack against traditional Christian notions of faith and belief, such a person as Sabatier is worth considering. In the famous "Religions of Authority and the Religion of the Spirit" (1903-1904 Eng.) Sabatier pushes out all authoritative functions in the realm of faith; "any external authority in religion of what kind so ever,—be it book, or hierarchy, or pope, or fixed ministry, or sacrament, or creed , or theology, or ritual,—is all from beginning to end opposed to the 'Religion of the Spirit' promulgated by Christ".[39] Every form of traditional Christianity, even such as proclaimed by Luther and Calvin, must go. For Sabatier,

[37] Sabatier and Réville, apud Viéban, *loc. cit.*, 146.

[38] Ménégoz, apud Brunhes, *op. cit.*, 131; cf. also Bricout, J., *Où en est l'Histoire des Religions*, Paris, Letouzey, 1911: II, 464.

[39] Butler, Dom C., "A Catholic's Reflections on Auguste Sabatier's 'Religions of Authority'", *Hibbert Journal*, v. 4 (1905-1906): 487.

Protestantism is, according to a summarizing Catholic writer, "the emancipation from tutelage and from instructors, and the attaining to the freedom of full Christian manhood".[40] Now, however, comes along Sabatier's "Religion of the Spirit", "which discards all the elements of authority that remained in orthodox Protestantism, and reduces Christianity to the bare exercise of the Two Great Commandments" (ib). Sabatier therefore confesses that he has broken off in his notion of what religious belief is from the doctrine taught by his sixteenth century forbears. Religious experience for Sabatier is religious faith, no more, no less.

In all these men, it can be fairly asked, do we actually see an evolution from Protestant first principles? Is it not on the part of non-Protestants a "post hoc, ergo propter hoc" argument, and therefore one of no validity? Or do the opponents find themselves in the position of the people mentioned by Caesar, "homines quod volunt, credunt"? If it were allowed to Protestants themselves to speak on the point, perhaps the question would be clearly answered; but they do not seem to come out plainly in this matter, as a rule. One has to be in the proper philosophical mood to talk to these gentlemen; and the right mood for comprehending the Modern Liberal Protestant viewpoint is engendered by accepting such statements as this, that "Christianity is, by its very nature, a continuous becoming",[41] though this bold and shocking way of putting it actually was spoken by Catholic Modernists: "corruptio optimi pessima!" If it be admitted too that "differences between the sons of men are more of form than of substance",[42] another excellent jumping-off place appears. An historical genesis of the subjective principle, faith is religious experience alone, finds rare expression. Subjective however the principle remains: one Lutheran preaches religious nihilism, another against the beliefs of Luther, a third substitutes works without faith for Luther's faith without works. In all this accordingly it can be seen that Harnack made no mistake when he said: "Kant and Fichte were both of them hidden behind

[40] Butler, *loc. cit.*, 499.

[41] Quo. from "*Il Rinnovamento*", apud Johnston, C., "The Catholic Reformation and the Authority of the Vatican", *North American Review*, v. 186 (1907), 582.

[42] Johnston, *loc. cit.*, 592.

Luther".[43] Truly then the evolution by Protestant admission has become realized; in short, "evolutio evoluta est".

VI.

Evolutio Evoluta.

To look back over these unsatisfactory pages may nevertheless sum up the history of faith's evolving among Protestants. That Luther, Calvin, Melanchthon, Theodore of Beza and Zwingli kept many Catholic doctrines, no one denies; nor does anyone deny either what is more to the point here, that these men really gave intellectual assent to truth as a part of their notion of faith. For them the extrinsic evidence for belief lay in the Bible, yet all the same real assent to truths was given. Some Protestants indeed, as has been noted, still maintain this position;[44] but the leaders have gone off another way.

This has been the route of Spinoza, Lessing, Semler, Kant, Hegel and Fichte. Logically, and sometimes even very explicitly, faith to the minds of these men consists not in creeds to be accepted as true. From Lessing's 'sentiment', the "phrase of deliverance", and Semler's public and private religion, through Kant's subjectivism and Hegel's harmonization of contradictory theses and antitheses, not to speak of Fichte's pan-egoism, the road leads straight, or tortuous if you will, to the lodestone of modern Protestant theology.

This all-important figure was Schleiermacher. In set terms, faith no longer is adhesion to a creed; religious experience is what counts, is alone worth noticing. Such experience is the basis of religious truth, beyond which basis none other need be sought out, for it will not and cannot be found. Schleiermacher, "qua" Schleiermacher, however, might not have been very dangerous, because he carried along with him all the traditions for a heavy German style famous in scholarly stories, such indeed as is rarely perused except by the specialist, and then only the specialist under sailing orders for some port on intellectual shores. Schleiermacher's influence almost missed stirring his outstanding successor and popularizer.

[43] Harnack, A., apud Grisar, H., *Luther,* trans. Lamond and Cappadelta, St. Louis, Herder, 1914: II, 32.

[44] Bandas, R. G., *The Master-Idea of St. Paul's Epistles,* Bruges, Desclée de Brouwer, 1925: 323-324; cf. also Prat, *op. cit.,* II, 279.

Ritschl finally understood what Schleiermacher was talking about. When he did, he began to spread abroad and to make readable what had up till then been tucked away from popular gaze; nowadays Ritschl's school is strong in many a Protestant theological institution.[45] Yet with Ritschl and his followers the complete evolution of Luther and Calvin's subjective principles becomes plain even to a not over-critical observer. Today, indeed, a prominent professor and eminent preacher can write that "creedal subscription to ancient confessions of faith is a practice dangerous to the welfare of the Church and to the integrity of the individual conscience".[46] The unfolding would appear, therefore, to be complete. Luther and Calvin might shudder at Ritschl and Sabatier, but it seems clear that Harnack spoke with exactness when he said that "Kant and Fichte are both of them hidden behind Luther".[47] Modern Protestants, accordingly, uphold a different idea of faith from that of sixteenth-century Lutherans and Calvinists, while logically these same Liberals are simply bearing the sins of their forefathers "to the third and fourth generations". Rightly, then, has Luther been characterized as "one of the fathers of subjectivism and of modern ways".[48]

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THE FRANCISCANS IN MEXICO IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

I. AMERICA'S DEBT TO THE FRANCISCANS.

THE recent celebration of the seventh centenary of the death of St. Francis of Assisi calls to mind the debt which North America owes to the disciples of the Saint. St. Francis has influenced and benefited posterity in several ways —by his example, by his Poor Clares, by his Third Order of Penance, but most of all by his Friars Minor. For, as the religious instruction and sanctification of mankind are accomplished by God through the Christian priesthood, he who most

[45] Orr, J., *The Ritschlian Theology and the Evangelical Faith*, London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1898: chapters 1 and 2 especially.

[46] Fosdick, H. E., Letter to Dr. E. W. Work, 1 Sept., 1924; *Princeton Theological Review*, v. 23 (July, 1925), no. 3: 336.

[47] Harnack, apud Grisar, *op. cit.*, II, 32.

[48] Rade, apud Grisar, *op. cit.*, III, 18-19.

influences the priesthood, most influences Christendom. Now St. Francis established a religious order which consists principally of priests, a religious order named by its humble founder Friars Minor and called by grateful posterity Franciscans. Through these Franciscan priests, St. Francis has worked in several continents for seven centuries. It is true that everyone of the hundreds of thousands of Franciscan priests who have exercised their sacerdotal ministry, from the foundation of the Friars Minor to the present day, owes his priestly ordination, power and authority, wholly to the pope and bishops of the Catholic Church, who are the sole authorized channels through whom the priesthood of Christ is communicated to men. Nevertheless, it is likewise true that all these Franciscan priests have lived and worked in the family and under the rule of St. Francis, and therefore have been vitally influenced by their seraphic founder. Quite rightly therefore should we call to mind the achievements of the Franciscan priests, and especially their achievements in that portion of the world in which we live, North America.

When the Franciscan Order in 1493 undertook to work for the conversion of the newly discovered American Indians, it had already two hundred and seventy-four years of achievements in the foreign missions to its credit. St. Francis had from the first looked upon his Friars Minor as humble yet useful agents of the Catholic Church, not merely in the winning back of European worldings to Christian morality, but also in the conversion of African and Asiatic infidels to the Christian faith. His example and his rule encouraged foreign missions and the Apostolic See gladly availed itself of the services of these Franciscan priests in its age-long task of converting the world. Hence in the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, Franciscan priests preached the gospel from Morocco to Egypt and from the Holy Land to China, watering with their life's blood the countries they were evangelising. One does not know which to admire the most in the mediaeval history of the Franciscans, their pious and learned contribution to the religious life of Catholic Europe or their uninterrupted series of martyrs from Morocco to China.

With the discovery of the New World in 1492 by the Franciscan tertiary Christopher Columbus, a new field was revealed

for the exercise of Franciscan zeal. The missionary achievements of the Franciscans of America soon equaled in heroism and excelled in fruit their wonderful achievements in Africa and Asia. The record of the Franciscan priests in America—in Central America, in South America and in North America—is as marvellous as it is little known. There is no chapter in the missionary history of any religious order which excels it. From 1493 to the present, but especially during the 300 years which synchronized with the colonial period of Mexico's history, that is, from 1521 to 1821, Franciscan priests must be numbered as one of the principal factors in the christianizing and civilizing of the American hemisphere. The Grey Friars have not paraded their achievements before the world. Except in their own circles they rarely mention them. As a result generations have grown up ignorant, to their own great disadvantage, of the heroic deeds which the pioneer Franciscan Friars performed, not merely in one American nation nor in two, but in every state now existing in the American hemisphere.

America's debt to the Franciscans began on the eve of the discovery of the new world. It is a well known fact that the two persons who more than any others enabled Columbus to organize his expedition to America were Father Juan Perez, Superior of the Monastery of La Rabida, and Isabella, the Catholic Queen of Spain. It is not so generally known that Father Perez, who when Columbus was about to quit Spain in despair, won Queen Isabella to the support of the voyage of discovery, was a Franciscan Friar, and that Isabella and Columbus himself were Franciscan tertiaries. Father Perez not merely provided the providential discoverer of the New World with the help he required in his hour of greatest need; he accompanied Columbus in the second voyage to America, and on 8 December, 1493, celebrated the first Mass said in America since the destruction of the Catholic Church in Greenland. Father Perez was therefore a member of the first mission band sent by Rome for the conversion of the American Indians. For as soon as Columbus had revealed to Catholic Europe that millions of Indian pagans inhabited the lands beyond the Atlantic Ocean, the Holy See at once undertook in a systematic manner their conversion. On 25 June, 1493 the

Pope appointed a bishop with the title of Vicar Apostolic and, by papal authority, King Ferdinand of Spain sent this bishop, accompanied by both secular and religious priests, with Columbus in 1493 in his second voyage to America. Thus we find, one year after America's discovery, the Catholic Church fully organized for its evangelization. A bishop with both diocesan and religious priests were at work. Ever since these three—the bishop, the diocesan priest and the religious order priest—have been united in the task and he who would write the Catholic history of America must give full justice to all three. The bishops, who are the overseers, directors and rulers, rank first, owing to the plenitude of their priestly power. As their sacerdotal helpers, they have had and always will have diocesan and religious priests—two bodies equal in their sacrificial and sacramental powers, equal in the dignity and sanctity of their office and differing only in the accidental means they employ for their own and others' sanctification. Of the religious orders active in the conversion of America, three are preëminent—the Franciscans, who came to America in 1493, the Dominicans who came in 1510 and the Jesuits who came in 1549, nine years after they were founded in Rome.[1] Of these three religious orders, the record of the most recent, the Jesuits, is fortunately well known. The record of the Franciscans and Dominicans, like the equally glorious record of the diocesan clergy, is not well known. Here is a vast field in which a far larger number of ecclesiastical historians might well work. Meanwhile the recent seventh centenary of the death of St. Francis was a reminder to us of what we owe to the Friars Minor. They were pioneers of Catholicity and culture in every state from Terra del Fuego to Newfoundland. Look at their record. Franciscans were in Haiti in 1493, in Cuba in 1500, in Porto Rico in 1511, in Panama in 1512, in Columbia in 1516, in Venezuela in 1519, in Mexico in 1521, in Honduras in 1525, in Florida in 1528, in Ecuador and Peru in 1532, in Guatemala in 1533, in Chile in 1535, in Paraguay and Argentine in 1538 and in New Mexico in 1539. Thus within half a century of the discovery of the New World, we have Spanish Franciscans accompanying and at times even preced-

[1] Next in importance was the work of the Augustinians.

ing the explorers and soldiers of Spain from Argentine and Chili to Florida and New Mexico. When in the subsequent century Catholic France planted colonies in Canada and Acadia, French Franciscans were the pioneer priests in the former and among the pioneer priests in the latter. And when toward the end of the eighteenth century the Holy See determined to organize the Church in the British Colony of Newfoundland, to Irish Franciscan bishops was the task entrusted.

Of all the Franciscan missions in the American hemisphere, it may be confidently asserted that the work of the Spanish Franciscans in New Spain was the most fruitful in results; and of the three centuries of Franciscan missionary activities in New Spain, without doubt the sixteenth century was the most important. The history of the Franciscans in New Spain in the sixteenth century is very largely unknown to English-speaking readers. The following sketch will, it is hoped, serve to indicate what a rich store of historical material awaits some competent historian of the English tongue. For convenience sake we shall use the word Mexico to indicate the whole of New Spain; though of course in colonial times New Spain was the term used.

II. The First Apostles of Mexico.

The story of the conquest of Mexico is comparatively well known; the far more glorious story of the conversion of Mexico is nigh unknown. The principal single factor in the conversion of Central and Southern Mexico were the Franciscan priests. This may be confidently stated without minimizing the wonderful services of the bishops, the secular clergy, the Dominicans, Augustinians, and other religious. When Cortez arrived in 1519 to conquer the country he was accompanied by two military chaplains, the worthy secular priest, Fr. Juan Díaz, and the Mercedarian Fr. Bartolomé de Olmedo, who was the good angel of the conquest and the first apostle of the Mexicans. The conquest of Mexico City having been achieved in 1521 and the importance of this new field for evangelical labor having been realized, the Holy See, on 15 May, 1522, issued a bull authorizing the orders of Mendicant Friars, and in a special manner the Friars Minor,

to undertake the conversion of the natives in the Indies. The prelates of the orders and their delegates were given the widest possible ecclesiastical jurisdiction, including, in places lying at a greater distance than two day's journey from a bishop's residence, all episcopal powers that could be delegated to a priest. The religious superiors were to select for the mission field only those religious whose life and learning fitted them for it. The first to avail themselves of this permission were three Flemish Franciscans, Fr. Juan de Tecto (John Van Tacht), the guardian of the Franciscan monastery at Ghent, (he had been Professor of Theology at the University of Paris and confessor to the Emperor), Fr. Juan de Aora and Br. Pedro de Gante or Peter of Ghent. They reached Mexico in 1523 and began at once the study of the language of the natives. In 1524 came the first missionaries sent in the name of the Holy See, the twelve Spanish Franciscans under Fr. Martín de Valencia, who are often styled, on account of the wonderful results of their apostolate, the Twelve Apostles of Mexico. These remarkable men were Martín de Valencia, Francisco de Soto, Martín de Jesús or de la Coruña, Juan Xuárez (or Suárez), Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, Toribio de Benavente, García de Cisneros, Luis de Fuensalida, Juan de Ribas and Francisco Ximénez, all priests, and Andrés de Córdoba and Juan de Palos, lay brothers. An eye-witness has left us a picture of their arrival in the capital of Mexico. The religious entered in procession carrying little crosses and Cortés and his Spaniards knelt and kissed their hands and their habits with the deepest respect and conducted them to their lodgings. The Indian chiefs and lords were astonished to see the proud conqueror and his captains bowing in reverence before the poorly clad, bare-footed priests. Cortés utilized the opportunity to address the Mexican chiefs and advised them to venerate as he had done those who had come to preach them the Gospel. Another illuminating detail describes the passage of these same Fathers through Tlaxcala on their way to the capital. Some Indians seeing their ragged habits kept repeating to themselves — motolinia, motolinia. Whereupon one of the Friars named Toribio having learned that motolinia meant poor announced that henceforth it would be his name. The Twelve Apostles of Mexico converted one

million souls and of this million, the astounding figure of 400,000 baptisms is to the credit of this Friar Toribio de Motolinia — a record equaled only by that of his namesake, St. Toribio, the secular priest who was the first Archbishop of Peru, and who before his death in 1606 baptized and confirmed nearly half a million souls.

Fr. Martín on his arrival in the capital lost no time in organizing his little apostolic army. On 2 July, 1524, after a spiritual retreat he formed the Franciscan custody of Santo Evangelio (which included the three Flemings and two Spanish Franciscans who had arrived before him), and then dividing his Friars into four groups, sent them to the regions around Mexico City, Texcoco, Huejocingo and Tlaxcala. Shortly afterward, probably that same month, an informal ecclesiastical synod, or "Junta apostólica", was held by Fr. Martín to consider matters relating to the Indians. It was attended by Cortés, the Franciscans, five secular priests and certain lay canonists.

This done, the Franciscans set about learning the native languages, and first of all the Aztec or Mexican language, the dominant one in a large part of the country.

Meanwhile within one year, all the important priests who had arrived before the Twelve had died. The first secular priest Juan Díaz, that ancient and honorable cleric, as Bishop Zumárraga described him, who was a military chaplain, lost his life in the performance of his duties in 1524. The detachment of soldiers which he was accompanying was attacked and he was killed. The Mercedarian, Fr. Bartolomé de Olmedo, accompanied Pedro de Alvarado on his military expeditions to the south and to the Zapotecos. He was the first apostle of these last-mentioned Indians. He died in Mexico near the Feast of All Saints, 1524, after having baptized 2500 neophytes. The two Flemish Franciscan priests, after having learned the Mexican language at Texcoco, died of privations in 1525, when accompanying Cortés on his unhappy expedition to Honduras. So at the end of 1525 the only missionaries in the country were the Spanish Franciscans and Br. Peter of Ghent. We get a wonderfully vivid picture of the early work of the missionaries in New Spain in a letter written by this famous Flemish Franciscan lay brother in 1529.

III. Letter of Brother Peter of Ghent.

This letter was written 27 June, 1529, in the Convent of San Francisco, in Mexico City, by its author to his brethren in Flanders.

I wish you to know, my dear brothers, that I set forth from Ghent, a city of Flanders, with two other Friar companions, one of whom was Fr. Juan de Tecto, guardian of Ghent, and the other Fr. Juan de Aora: and I, Fr. Pedro de Mura, born in the City of Iguien, in the province of Budarde, was the third of these companions. We left Ghent in April, the Octave of Easter and reached Spain 22 July. There we embarked again May, 1523, and we reached Port Villa Rica 13 August, whence we came to Mexico which already had a Christian population (i. e. of Spaniards). From there I went to the province called Tezcoco in which I lived three years and a half. My (Flemish) companions went with the Governor (Cortés) to another land (Honduras) where they died, worn out with labours for the love of God. I was left alone and have remained in these regions with some Friars come from Spain. We are divided into nine convents living in the houses that the natives made for us, separated one from another by seven, ten or even fifty leagues. Thus we work for the conversion of these pagans, each one according to his force and spirit.

My work is to preach and teach day and night. During the day I teach reading, writing and singing, at night I teach Christian Doctrine and preach. As the country is very large, populated by an infinite number of pagans, and as the Friars who preach are few, to teach such a multitude we gather together in our houses the sons of the principal lords to teach them the Catholic faith which they afterwards teach their fathers. These boys learn to read, write, sing, preach and take part in the divine office. I have under my charge in the City of Mexico five hundred or more. As this is the capital of the country I have selected one hundred and fifty of the more promising and each week I teach them apart what they have to do and preach the following Sunday, which is not light work for me. I am engaged in this work day and night, writing and arranging their sermons. On Sundays the boys

go out to preach in the city and the whole neighbourhood within four, eight, ten, twenty and thirty leagues announcing the Catholic faith and by their teaching preparing the pagans to receive Baptism. We go round with them, destroying idols and temples in one section while they do the same in another, and erecting temples to the true God.

Thus in these occupations we spend our time doing all manner of work day and night, that these pagan people come to the knowledge and faith of Jesus Christ. I, by the mercy of God and for His honour and glory in this province of Mexico where I live, which is another Rome, by my industry and with the divine help have erected more than one hundred houses consecrated to the Lord, churches and chapels. Every time I go out to preach I have all I can do, destroying idols and building churches to the true God. Such being the state of affairs, I ask you, my loving parents and brothers, that you deign pray for me to the Lord that hearing your prayers He may enlighten me so that I may know what I have to do, and do it and persevere in His service and will to the end.

I ask and beg earnestly that some one of you take upon himself for the love of God the work of translating this letter into Flemish or German, and send it to my parents so that they may at least know something certain and favourable about me: how I live and that I am well, for which be praise and glory to God.

I have nothing more to write now; I would relate much more about this country, if it were not that I have completely lost my native language. Therefore, I shall add no more than this; that I have great need of a book that is called the Bible and that if you send it to me you will do me a great act of charity. *Ca ye ixquichi ma motenaca y toteoh y totlatucauh y Iesu Christo:* which is translated thus: "I will say no more except, praise be Our Lord and His Blessed Son Jesus Christ."

The above letter doubtless awakens a desire to know more about this Peter of Ghent, who though he was a cousin of the Emperor Charles V and an accomplished scholar and teacher, preferred to remain a Franciscan lay brother rather than accept the twice-proffered position of Bishop of Mexico. Mendieta who knew him in Mexico gives us the following description of his work as a school-master:

"He had built a school for children, where at the beginning the sons of the lords of all the country were taught and where today (1596) are taught those of the City of Mexico. Adjoining the school he had other buildings and apartments built, where the Indians were taught painting, and made statues and pictures for the churches of the whole land. He had others taught various trades; stone masonry, carpentry, tailoring, shoemaking, the blacksmith trade and the other mechanical trades which the Indians began to love and practice. Fr. Pedro had joined to the school a cell to which he retired at times in the course of the day and there gave himself up to prayer, reading and other spiritual exercises; and then after a time he would go out and see what the Indians were doing. His principal care was that the children should be taught both the Christian Doctrine and reading, writing, singing, etc., and also that the adults should congregate on Sundays and feasts to hear Mass and the word of God, and to answer the Christian Doctrine. He examined those who were to be married and prepared those who were going to receive the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist. He preached when there was no priest present who knew the language of the Indians. He composed in the Indian language a large catechism and had it printed."

Continuing, Mendieta tells us that Br. Peter was so highly esteemed by the Indians that they came to him for everything, so that the whole spiritual and religious government of the natives of Mexico and its surroundings depended principally on him. The second Archbishop of Mexico, Don Fray Alonso de Montúfar, used to say, 'Not I, but that Franciscan lay brother Pedro de Gante, is the Archbishop of Mexico.' He died in 1572 and his picture, with that of the Twelve Apostles of Mexico, may be seen in the principal towns of New Spain.[2]

IV. Letter of Bishop-Elect Zumárraga

No story no matter how brief of the first Franciscans in Mexico would be complete without a reference to the first Bishop of Mexico, the Franciscan Juan de Zumárraga. From his arrival in Mexico City in 1528 till his death a score of years later, he was the ideal shepherd of the flock, leading

[2] Mendieta, *Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana*, bk. 5, pt. 1, c. 18.

and directing in all that sanctified and civilized. He is famous for having resisted the tyrannical rulers of Mexico of the first Audiencia; for having introduced the printing-press in America; for having fostered the primary and secondary education of the Indian boys; for having established several flourishing schools for Indian girls; for the impetus he gave to literature, to agriculture, and to manufacturing; for the modifications he obtained in the impractical Utopian New Laws sponsored by the fiery Dominican protector of the Indians Las Casas; for his great sanctity and humility; and for the prudent and zealous manner in which he directed his secular and regular clergy and built up his diocese.

In 1531, while he was as yet only Bishop-elect, Zumárraga sent to the Franciscan chapter general at Toulouse the following letter. It is a vivid pen-picture of the work of the friars in Mexico during the first seven years which followed the arrival of the Twelve. The following is a translation:

Reverend Fathers,

Know that we are much occupied with great and continual labours in the conversion of pagans, of whom, by the grace of God, there have been by the hands of our religious of the order of our Seraphic Father St. Francis of the Religious Observance over a million persons baptized, five hundred temples of idols pulled to the ground, and over 20,000 figures of demons whom they adored broken into bits and burned. In many places churches and oratories have been built, and in many parts there have been raised on high and venerated by the Indians the resplendent arms of the cross. And what is a cause for admiration is that while formerly, while paganism reigned, it was the custom to sacrifice to the idols each year in the city of Mexico over 20,000 human hearts, now there is offered, not to the demon but to God, unmeasureable sacrifices of praise, through the teaching and example of our religious, for which be honour and glory to God. God is adored with reverence in these places by children, who are sons of the natives, many of whom give themselves up to fasting, to the discipline and to continual prayers, with tears and sighs. Many of their children and others older are able to read, write, sing and play music well. They go to confession frequently and receive the Blessed Sacrament of the altar with much devotion, and with great joy preach the word of God to their fathers, having been instructed for this by the religious. They rise in the middle of the night for matins, and say the whole office of Our Lady

for whom they have a particular devotion. They discover with great care where their fathers had hidden the idols, and take them and faithfully bring them to our religious. On which account some of them have been inhumanly killed by their own fathers, but live crowned with glory with Christ. Each of our convents has another house joined to it in which to teach the children, where there are school, dormitory, refectory and Chapel. The children are very humble and obedient to the religious and love them more than their fathers. They are chaste and ingenious especially in the art of painting.

Among the Brothers who are most proficient in the language of the natives, there is one in particular, a lay brother called Peter of Ghent. He takes the most diligent care of more than six hundred children. He is the principal paranymph who instructs the boys and girls who are going to get married in the things of our Catholic faith, and how to conduct themselves in Holy Matrimony. When they are instructed, marriage is celebrated with great solemnity on feast days.

For the maintenance and teaching of the girls Her Serene Highness Empress Isabel, sent from Spain six honorable women, judicious and prudent, and commanded by her decrees that a house be erected so large and complete, that the same women living retired, with the protection and favor of the bishop, will be able to keep one thousand maids and teach them to live righteously. And thus in a most admirable manner the Indians are converted to the Catholic faith. The maids learn the first rudiments of the faith from (these) honorable women and the Indians from religious men. Afterwards, these Indian youths of both sexes teach their pagan parents what they have learned. To them may be applied the words of the prophet David; "Out of the mouth of children and sucklings, Lord, Thou hast received perfect praise" Psalm 8. Christ be the salvation of your reverences, whom I suppliantly implore that you request that that which He has begun, may He in His clemency complete.

From Mexico, 12 June, 1531.

Fr. Juan de Zumárraga,
Bishop-elect of Mexico.

V. Motolinia's Summary.

The successes recorded by Bishop-elect Zumárraga were accomplished in the period of seven years when there was great cruelty practised against the natives, especially by Nuño de Guzmán, a conqueror and civil ruler who was a disgrace

to the Spanish name. If great were the missionary successes in that period of storm and stress, still greater were achieved in the era of peace and justice which began in 1531 with the arrival of the second Audiencia. As a heavenly harbinger of the miracles of grace which were to be accomplished, there occurred in December, 1531, the famous apparition of the Blessed Virgin Mary to a humble Indian at a short distance outside the city of Mexico.

Two new bodies of missionaries arrived on the scene; the Dominicans in 1526 and the Augustinians in 1533. Though both of these mendicant orders of friars later achieved very great results in New Spain, it took them a few years to get under way. Hence it was that up to 1536 over ninety-five per cent of the missionary work had been done by the Franciscans. Only twelve years had elapsed since the twelve Franciscan Apostles had arrived from Spain, yet Motolinia could thus record the result.

"There are at present in this New Spain over sixty Franciscan priests; for of the other priests, few have been engaged in baptizing, though they baptized some, I do not know how many. In addition to the sixty priests I mentioned, twenty others have returned to Spain, some of whom had baptized many Indians when here; and more than twenty others are already dead who also baptized very many; especially our Father Fray Martín de Valencia, who was the first prelate in this country who represented the Pope, and Fray García de Cisneros, and Fray Juan Caro, an honorable man who was the first to introduce and teach in this country plain chant and the organ, and Fray Juan Perpiñán and Fray Francisco de Valencia. Each one of these baptized more than 100,000. From the sixty who are here in this present year 1536, I deduct twenty who have not yet baptized because they are new in the country and do not yet know the language. Of the forty who remain, I estimate that they have baptized on an average 100,000 each, for some have baptized 200,000 and some 150,000 and others much less. So that counting those baptized by the priests who died or returned to Spain the total number of the baptized at the present day is about 5,000,000." Allowing for some unconscious exaggeration in the statistics, it is certain that several million Indians were baptized by the

Franciscans in Mexico between 1524 and 1536. Twelve years later the number of Indians in New Spain who had accepted Christianity and were in process of civilization reached the stupendous total of eight million. In this later harvest, Dominicans and Augustinians shared the labors and the glory with the Franciscans.

Such a wonderful mass conversion is rare in the history of the Church. It requires the simultaneous presence of three factors: 1. a large body of intelligent semi-civilized pagans, capable of absorbing in a brief period of time Christianity and civilization; 2. a large body of extraordinary holy missionaries; 3. an extraordinary effusion of the grace of God. All three factors were present in Mexico in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, that same quarter of a century during which the Church suffered such losses in Europe.

The work of the conversion of the semi-civilized Indians of Central and Southern Mexico continued unabated during the third quarter of the sixteenth century. When the Jesuits arrived on the scene in 1572, the vast majority of these, some eight million, were already Christians. Though there was a terrible decrease in population in this area in the latter half of the sixteenth century, it was definitely won to Christ. There remained as a task to deepen its Christianity, increase its civilization, and transmit both religion and culture from generation to generation. On the other hand, the barbarous Indians of Northern Mexico, and in general the Indians of low culture were as yet pagans, and were not yet subject to Spanish military control. To Christianize and civilize the majority of these nomads, divided into races speaking a hundred different tongues, was a task which took the whole of the following century to accomplish. The work was accomplished chiefly by Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians and Jesuits, with the diocesan priests following in their wake. The Franciscans evangelized the largest territory and provided the most missionaries. While the number of converts, though remarkable, could not compare with the harvest of the sixteenth century, this was due to the nature of the field, not to the fault of the laborers, many of whom crowned their zeal by dying for the faith.

VI. Educational Work of the Friars.

The Friars Minor, like the Catholic Church of which they are the servants, were not established to convey secular education to men. Yet just as the Church since the time of Constantine has been the greatest teacher of secular knowledge in the world (for this was necessary that she might adequately fulfil her supernatural mission), likewise in the restricted area and territory that we are considering—Mexico in the sixteenth century—the Franciscans contributed essentially to the progress of education. This contribution may be divided into two distinct types of work, though both are closely related and the dividing line is at times hard to find. The first of these may be styled that educational result which was indirect and which followed as a necessary consequence from the evangelization. The second was the direct educational work.

Any Christian who considers the matter realizes that to teach a pagan people the catechism of Christian doctrine, to give them as their code of life the truths of the creed, the moral law of the gospel and the example of Jesus Christ, is to educate them, is to give them the basis of all true civilization, the eternal verities. Every friar who evangelized the Indians was therefore a teacher of theology, philosophy and ethics; he was an educator.

Before the friars could teach Christian doctrine, they had to learn the native languages, and there were considerably over one hundred of them spoken in New Spain. Of these languages about a dozen were the most important for the semi-civilized area. The first effort of the friars was therefore to learn the native languages and, in order to train their successors, to compose grammars and dictionaries and to write in these languages catechisms, sermons and other religious literature. None of these languages had ever been written, much less scientifically studied, before the friars undertook the task. Hence from the very beginning, the Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians undertook the difficult task of composing catechisms, sermon books, grammars and dictionaries in the principal native languages. Mendieta gives the names of twenty-four Franciscans who composed such works in the native languages in the sixteenth century. Their writings

were in seven distinct languages; Mexican or Aztec with the closely akin Nahuatl, Otomí, Totonaco, Huaxteco, Tarasco, Popoloco, and Matlazinga. Unfortunately all these works were not printed, though a good share of them were. To this day the writings in the native languages of such Franciscans as Alonzo de Molina and Maturino Gilberti are the delight of philologists.

A special glory of the Franciscans in the educational field is, as already mentioned, the work of Brother Pedro de Gante, who may be styled the first school-master of North America.

Of equal importance was the work of Bishop Zumárraga, first bishop of Mexico. To him is due the introduction of the printing press to America. His successful petition to the king for the introduction of printing press and paper mill into New Spain was made in 1533. Father Cuevas has published the text of this important document.[3] The same far-seeing prelate instructed his procurators at the Council of Trent to petition for the establishment in Mexico of a university teaching all the faculties and sciences, and especially arts and theology. Within a decade of his death the university was functioning. While the primary steps toward the foundation of the Franciscan college of Santa Cruz for the natives were taken by Bishop Ramírez de Fuenleal, Zumárraga sponsored it from the beginning. On the other hand Zumárraga was the actual founder of the college of San Juan de Latrán for the half-breeds. Nor did the bishop neglect the education of girls. As early as 1529 he and the Franciscans founded what may be called the college of Texcoco for Indian girls. He procured in Spain matrons to educate them. More than that, in a meeting of bishops held in 1537, Zumárraga and his brother prelates sought to have the girls of the whole land of New Spain educated. As early as 1529 Zumárraga wished to bring nuns to Mexico for the education of girls. The Council of the Indies said that New Spain was no place for nuns. Eleven years later the Immaculate Conception Nuns — a Franciscan offshoot—came. The order spread in New Spain. They were the first nuns in North America.

[3] Cuevas, Mariano: *Historia de la Iglesia en México.* El Paso, 1928. Vol. 1, p. 467. An English translation of Father Cuevas's five-volume History of the Church in Mexico would fill a great want.

In the work of the primary education of boys, the contribution of the Franciscans was immeasurably great, as is evident from the following paragraphs from Mendieta and Torquemada:

"All the monasteries of New Spain have in front of the church a large enclosed patio, which is made especially for use on feast days; for the whole people come there and assist at Mass and hear sermons from the outside chapel, which is in the patio. They do not go into the church except on week days. At one end of the church, usually on the north, will be found erected a school. Singing and the playing of musical instruments are taught. Christian doctrine is taught the plebeians in the square. Then they go to their parents and the sons of the nobles remain and are taught to read and write, after they have learned Christian doctrine. In some places, however, especially in the smaller places, no distinction is made between nobles and plebeians, and all are taught to read and write in the school. All the girls, of whatever rank, are taught Christian doctrine outside under the direction of matrons."[4]

In the field of secondary education the most famous Franciscan effort on behalf of the natives was the college of Santa Cruz which opened its doors in the suburb of a Mexico city, 6 January, 1536. Within less than a score of years from the arrival of Cortés in Mexico, the sons of the native chiefs were learning Spanish, Latin, logic and philosophy in this ambitious college. Mendieta records with pride that its first professors included such eminent men as Fr. García de Cisneros, one of the Twelve and the first provincial of the Franciscans of Mexico; Fr. Andrés de Olmos, the famous polyglot missionary; Fr. Juan Focher, Doctor of Laws of the University of Paris; and that lifelong teacher of the Indians, Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún. Perhaps the best way to give an idea of the nature of the work accomplished for the native Mexicans in the sixteenth century by this famous college is to give the history of the greatest work composed by its greatest professor—Sahagún's book on the Manners and Customs of the Mexican Indians, usually cited by the title, Historia Universal de las Cosas de Nueva Espana.

[4] Torquemada, Juan de, *Monarquia Indiana*. Seville, 1615, pt. 3, bk. 15, c. 42.

Here it may be added parenthetically that Mexico city by 1575, possessed not merely a real university which had been functioning for twenty years, but also four secondary colleges for laymen—something far beyond that reached in any French or English American city of the seventeenth or even eighteenth century. In the effective colonization and civilization of America, Spain was a full century ahead of either England or France.

VII. Sahagún's Book on the Manners and Customs of the Mexican Indians.

This work is perhaps the most important ever written in a native language of America, and certainly the most important dealing with the native races of New Spain. Its author thus describes the composition of the work in the prologue of the first book: "That the ministers of the Gospel who will succeed to those who have come first to cultivate the vineyard of the Lord may have no occasion to complain that their predecessors did nothing to dissipate the obscurity of the Indian affairs of New Spain, I, Father Bernardino de Sahagún, professed Friar of our Seraphic Father St. Francis, of the Observance, a native of Sahagún en Campos, have written twelve books on the divine (that is, religious), human and natural things of this New Spain by order of Very Rev. P. F. Francisco Toral, provincial of this province of the Holy Gospel and later Bishop of Campeche and Yucatan. These twelve books with a grammar and vocabulary which form their appendix were finished in the present year 1569. It has not yet been possible to translate them and add commentaries."

In his preface to the second book, Sahagún gives us further details concerning the composition of the work. When he received orders from his provincial to write, he wrote down in Spanish a list of the subjects he wished to treat. "In the village of Tepepulco in the province of Tetzcuco," he tells us, "I assembled the principal Indians under the presidency of the Cacique Diego de Mendoza and told them what information I wanted." Whereupon the chief detailed ten or twelve old men who would tell him everything about the manners and customs of the Mexicans. There were also there four men whom Sahagún had taught Latin a few years before in the

college of Santa Cruz in Mexico. For two years he collaborated with these persons; the old men drawing the subjects made in colors in the picture writing of the Aztecs, and the young men writing in their language the explanation under the picture. Sahagún adds that he still possesses these manuscripts.

When his time was up at Tepepulco, Sahagún was moved to Tlatelolco, the northeast quarter of Mexico City where the college of Santa Cruz was located. There he worked in the same way with eight or ten Indians learned in their antiquities and with four or five (native) collegians who spoke the three languages, Indian, Spanish, and Mexican. During a year he closed himself up in the college and modified what he had written at Tepepulco and made a new copy. Then he was moved to the monastery of San Francisco of Mexico. There he spent three years revising his manuscripts alone and correcting them and dividing them into books and chapters. After that, from a provincial general of the order he received permission to have the twelve books copied out neatly as a new manuscript. The Mexicans corrected it as they copied it and added certain things. The principal Mexican collaborators—all finished scholars in Latin, Spanish and Mexican—were Antonio Valeriano, Alonzo Virginano, Martin Jacobita, then Rector of the college, and Pedro de San Buenaventura, and also two copyists. But this was afterward considered to be against the Franciscan practice of poverty and they were dismissed. Sahagún was then seventy and had a trembling of his right hand and five years passed before he could do anything further. Eventually, however, in 1569 the commissary general of the Franciscans gave instructions to have Sahagún translate the work into Spanish, and to have the whole transcribed anew into two volumes, Mexican on one side and Spanish on the other. This was done.

Mendieta adds that at the request of the viceroy the manuscript was sent to a historical writer in Spain. Sahagún was over ninety when he died in Mexico City in 1590, after having been a teacher of the Indians for sixty years. His great work remained unpublished till the Spanish version appeared in 1830. The Mexican text, which was thought lost, has fortunately been rediscovered. A new edition of the work was

published in Madrid in 1905-6 and contains the Mexican text of six books. A French translation was published by D. Jourdent and R. Simeon in Paris in 1880. Sahagún is an imperishable name in the history of culture in Mexico.

VIII. Mendieta's Ecclesiastical History.

Second only to Sahagún among the historians of Mexico in the sixteenth century is his brother Franciscan, Geronimo Mendieta, the author of the *Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana.* This work, perhaps the finest piece of ecclesiastical history produced in colonial Mexico, contains in terse, vigorous language the religious history of sixteenth-century Mexico, and deals especially with the work of the Franciscans. Completed in 1596 and sent to Spain, it was denied publication on account of its strictures on the Spanish authorities. It was rediscovered in the nineteenth century and published in a very limited edition in Mexico in 1870. It is very much to be desired that it be reprinted, and also that it be translated into English.

Mendieta's history was silently incorporated in 1615 by a brother Franciscan Fr. Juan de Torquemada, in the third volume of his *Monarquia Indiana.* Torquemada added a few facts, deleted a few paragraphs and chapters, and inserted many pious reflections. In this way Torquemada gave to the world and got the credit for having composed his predecessor's work. In the first volume of his history Torquemada summarized Sahagún's findings, and in his second volume the various histories of the conquest. His *Monarquia Indiana,* therefore, which is the standard history of sixteenth-century New Spain, is as much a compilation as a composition. Mendieta and Torquemada are two of that series of Franciscan historians of colonial Mexico, which began with Motolinia in the middle of the sixteenth century and ended with Palóu, Arricivita and Figueróa at the end of the eighteenth century. Without them the history of Mexico and of the former Spanish portion of the United States could not be adequately written.

IX. The Franciscan Martyrs.

An especially brilliant chapter in the history of New Spain in the sixteenth century is the record of the Franciscan martyrs. The following is the list given by Mendieta:

1. Juan Calero, lay brother; martyred 10 June, 1541, by apostate Chichemecas whom he was endeavoring to induce to return to their pueblo Ezatlan, in Nueva Galicia in the province of Xalisco.

2. Fr. Antonio de Cuéllar, 14 August 1541. He was the guardian of the Franciscan house at Ezatlan. He was shot down with arrows by the above mentioned apostate Indians. He was still alive when rescued by the neighboring Indians to whom he preached Christ crucified and the forgiveness of sins; he died two days later.

3. Fr. Juan de Padilla martyred in the north of New Mexico, in the present state of Kansas, 1542; the protomartyr of the United States.

4. Fr. Juan de la Cruz martyred near the present Bernalillo New Mexico, by the Pueblo Indians of the Tiguex tribe. (It is assumed with reason that his companion Br. Louis Descolona was also put to death by the Pueblo Indians at Pecos River in New Mexico. As his name is not given by Mendieta, I do not include him in this enumeration.)

5. Fr. Bernardo de Cossin, a French Franciscan, martyred near Zacatecas in Nueva Vizcaya; before 1548.

6. & 7. Two unnamed Friars Minor martyred in 1555 by Chichemecas.

8. Fr. Juan de Tapia who succeeded in establishing the faith in Zacatecas. He baptized 10,000 Indians in a short time; and was martyred four leagues from Zacatecas in 1556.

9. & 10. Fr. Francisco Lorenzo and a companion (Fr. Juan) were martyred by the Chichemecas in the province of Zalisco in 1560. The Indian band of Yocotequanes Indians who were guilty of these murders were afterward defeated and annihilated by an army of one hundred Spaniards, and four thousand Christian Indians.

11. Fr. Juan Cerrato killed by Chichemecas beyond Zacatecas.

12. Fr. Pablo de Acevedo, a Portugese, killed in the mountains of Sinaloa in 1567.

13. Br. Juan de Herrera, who had previously worked in Yucatan, killed with the above mentioned priest in Sinaloa in 1567.

14. Fr. Francisco Doncel, an Andalusian, in 1570.

15. Fr. Pedro de Burgos, a native of Mexico City, by Chichemecas in Mechoacán diocese.

16. Fr. Juan de Santa Maria martyred in New Mexico in 1581. Indians killed him by crushing his head with a large stone as he lay asleep.

17. Fr. Francisco Lopez likewise martyred in New Mexico in 1581. A hostile Indian killed him at Puaray with a war club.

18. Br. Agustin Rodrigez, the last surviving Franciscan in New Mexico in 1581, likewise killed by the Indians at Puaray.

19. Fr. Luis de Villalobos, who was born in the Zacatecas district, martyred in 1581 between Zacatecas and Guadalajara by Chichemecas.
20. Fr. Andres de Ayala, beheaded in 1585 at Guaynamota.
21. Fr. Francisco Gil, beheaded in 1585 with the above.
22. Fr. Juan de Santa Maria, killed by the Zacatecanos in 1586.
23. Fr. Juan de la Puebla, scourged and hanged in 1586.
24. Fr. Juan Río de la Loza riddled with arrows in 1586.

In addition to the above-mentioned Franciscans, four other persons were put to death for the faith in the sixteenth-century Mexico. One of these was the Jesuit, Fr. Gonzalo de Tapia, who was martyred in Sinaloa in the last decade of the century; the other three were Indian youths who lost their lives when taking part in the first Franciscan crusade against the idols. The first of these, Cristóbal, was put to death in 1527 by his own father. The other two boys, Antonio and Juan were killed two years later; all three were Tlaxcallans.

The year following the compilation of Mendieta's history, namely 1597, five other Franciscans were martyred in what was then called Florida, but what is now the state of Georgia; but as Florida did not form part of colonial Mexico, they are not here included. Florida, however, has a connecting link with the Franciscans of Mexico, for two of the Twelve Apostles of Mexico went to Florida with Narvaez in 1528 and were drowned there. These were Juan Xuárez who went there, according to many authorities, as Bishop-elect, and a lay brother, Juan de Palmos.

Though none of the twenty-four Franciscan martyrs mentioned by Mendieta was canonized or beatified, the Franciscans of sixteenth-century Mexico were not without their canonized martyr. This is St. Felipe of Jesus. This native of Mexico City joined the Discalced Franciscans of the Province of St. Didicus (San Diego) of the city of Puebla. Not yet fully won over to Christ, this as yet unsettled novice returned to the world in 1589 and engaged in business in the Philippines. In 1590 he abandoned his life of pleasure and joined the Franciscans in Manila. In 1596, when sailing to Mexico for an ordination, a storm drove the vessel ashore in Japan. In February, 1597, he and five other Franciscans, seventeen Japanese tertiaries, a Japanese Jesuit and two native servants, were martyred on a mountain near Nagasaki. St. Felipe was

beatified in 1627 and canonized in 1862 and is the patron saint of the city of Mexico.

X. Conclusion.

Spain's achievement in America in the sixteenth century is an event unparalleled in history. By 1580 she had explored the Atlantic Coast from Nova Scotia to Cape Horn and the Pacific Coast from Oregon to the Straits of Magellan. She had established her priests, her soldiers and her colonists from Georgia to Chili. She had established two hundred Spanish cities and towns and converted to the Christian faith about twelve million Indians. What Rome, Imperial and Christian, did for Spain, Spain, Catholic and royal, did for Hispanic America. "If now," writes Edward Gaylord Bourne, in his *Spain in America* with direct reference to Mexico, "we review the same events with the eyes of the old campaigner of the conquest, Bernal Diaz, as he looks back forty-seven years, we see that first there come to his mind the wonderful changes in the life and condition of the Indians, changes in range and character perhaps not equaled before in the history of the race in so short a time. Instead of the fearful temples of Huitzilopochtli and Tezcatlipoca, smoking with human sacrifice and dripping with blood of victims, there are Christian churches; while upon the Indians themselves have been bestowed the hardly won prizes of ages of slow progress, the developed arts, the various domestic animals, the grains, vegetables, and fruits, the use of letters and the printing press, and the forms of government. As the child physically and mentally passes rapidly through the earlier stages of the development of the race, so the natives of New Spain in a generation and a half were lifted through whole stages of human evolution. If these gifts came through war and conquest, so Roman culture came to Gaul and Britain."[5]

While giving full credit to the fearless Spanish soldiers and sailors, explorers and colonists, to the Spanish Crown and its capable Indian Civil Service, it must be admitted that the greater part of the work of teaching the natives civilization and practically the whole work of teaching them Christianity fell upon the Spanish clergy, that is, the bishops, regulars and

[5] L. c., 200-1.

seculars. They undertook the inspiring task of raising a hundred races, numbering twenty millions or more, into the sphere of Christian life and civilization. In the vanguard of these apostolic workmen were the Friars Minor.

The outstanding characteristic of the majority of the Friars Minor of Mexico in the sixteenth century was their apostolic sanctity. They taught Christianity first of all by their example. The Indians saw that these priests and brothers were humble, holy, poor and mortified. They saw them going about on foot and barefooted, wearing but a grey sackcloth, short and torn, sleeping on a mat with a bundle of dry herbs for a pillow, covered only with their old mantles. They saw them eating only the poorest food, such as little cakes of Indian corn and native fruits; never eating supper save on Sundays and never drinking wine. They saw their honesty, their goodness, their desire to teach them, their industry, their prayers, their meekness and their holiness. Little wonder then that the Indians sought them as fathers and loved them as children.

If one wishes to pray to one of these humble Friars Minor of sixteenth-century Mexico, the Church bids us invoke Blessed Sebastian de Aparacio. Arriving from Spain at Vera Cruz in 1531 when he was twenty-nine years old, he spent the next forty-six years of his eventful life, first as a famous carter and road-builder and then as a successful farmer. At the age of seventy-two, he sold his farms and with the proceeds practically founded the convent of the Poor Clares in Mexico City. Then he joined the Franciscans as a lay brother and spent the remainder of his life in Franciscan simplicity as collector of alms of the convent of San Francisco of Puebla. There he died in 1600 at the age of ninety-eight. In 1768 he was beatified. One feels that he is but the titled representative of a legion of similarly holy Friars Minor of New Spain.

There was much done by the Franciscans in sixteenth-century Mexico to which practically no reference has been made in this essay: their constant defence of the Indian against those who would exploit him; their corporal works of mercy and in a special manner the small hospitals and dispensaries they established in all their districts; their work as teachers of agriculture and of the various trades, and their contributions to the artistic development of the nation, in

music, architecture, sculpture and painting. Since the Friars were human, they had also their defects — the principal one being their exaggerated *esprit de corps*. Proud of their traditions, jealous of their privileges, they failed to realize that the extraordinary jurisdiction given them at first when the country was exclusively missionary, must gradually be diminished in favor of the ordinary jurisdiction of the bishop of the place who is the divinely constituted overseer of the pastoral work of his diocese. Hence those disputes with the bishops over jurisdiction, disputes in which also the Dominicans, Augustinians and later Jesuits took part, disputes which ultimately were decided by the Holy See in favor of the bishops.

In the middle of the sixteenth century there were 380 Franciscans in Mexico; by the end of the century over one thousand. Mendieta gives us a bird's-eye view of New Spain in 1596. There were eight hundred parishes or missionary districts, of which four hundred were served by diocesan priests, two hundred by Franciscans, about ninety each by Dominicans and Augustinians, and the rest chiefly by the Jesuits, who also had an excellent group of colleges. The diocesan priests, who rarely emerge into the pages of history though they do half the work of the Church, staffed in six of the dioceses of New Spain, Mexico, Tlaxcala (Puebla), Michoacán, Jalisco (Guadalajara), Oaxaca and Guatemala, two hundred and forty-two Indian parishes, not counting the parishes of the Spaniards or the parishes in the mining districts of Nueva Gallica. The secular priests of the last quarter of the sixteenth century, having been largely seminary-trained, were on the whole truly devoted pastors. Most of the convents and parishes of the religious had a number of mission churches without resident priests where Mass was said regularly and Christian doctrine taught. The Franciscan province of Santo Evangelio, which had ninety convents, had one thousand such missions.

Fr. Cuevas, S.J., in his recent history of the Church in Mexico, gives in geographical terms of the present Mexican Republic the location of the principal spheres of Franciscan influence. He deals with the seventeenth century, but the basis at least of practically all these missions was laid in the sixteenth. In the high civilized triangle formed by Vera Cruz, Querétaro and Cuernavaca, where all the orders had impor-

tant houses (principally the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, Jesuits, Mercedarians and Carmelites), the three first mentioned orders still had charge of the majority of the small towns, and of these, one-half were in the charge of Franciscans. As regards the rest of Mexico, the Franciscans served, apart from the central Tarahumara region, all Chihuahua, practically all Coahuila, Nuevo León, Tamaulipas, Veracruz, Campeche and Yucatán, and the north of Michoacán, Guanajuato, San Luis, Zacatecas, and Jalisco.[6] In addition they were the sole missionaries in New Mexico and had twenty-two convents in Guatemala, both of which states then formed part of colonial Mexico.

These numerous Franciscans were divided into provinces. At first New Spain formed but a custody, that is, incipient province. In 1535 there was erected, with headquarters in Mexico City, the Franciscan province of Santo Evangelio. It had custodies in Michoacán, Yucatán, Jalisco, Zacatecas, Guatemala, Florida, Nicaragua and Perú. Gradually the custodies became distinct provinces.

Apart from the various provinces of the Friars Minor of the Observance, there was a special family of Franciscans, the Discalced Friars of the province of San Diego, sometimes called Alcantarines. They established a hospice in New Spain in 1578, as a half-way house to China. For a number of years the six houses of the custody were governed by a commissary residing in the Philippine Islands. Distance meant little to the Friars. The world was their field.

It might be supposed that after such extraordinary efforts and results in the sixteenth century, the Franciscans in Mexico slackened up a bit in the seventeenth century. The contrary is the case. They increased their activities both extensively and intensively. The hardships their missionaries had to face in christianizing and civilizing the barbarous Indians of the north were incredible. To provide an elite of missionaries, there was founded in the latter half of the seventeenth century at Querétaro the first of those famous Franciscan colleges for the propagation of the faith, which till the suppression and dispersion of the Franciscans in Mexico by the Republic in 1857 produced missionaries who continued the glorious record

[6] *Historia de la Iglesia en México,* vol. 3, p. 26.

established in New Spain in the sixteenth century. One cannot help but feel that in the rehabilitation of Mexico which must follow the recent cyclonic persecution, the Friars Minor, who loved and served the Mexican people so well, will be given another opportunity of edifying them by their Christ-like disinterestedness and zeal.

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THE MISERERE—PSALM 50.

ST. ATHANASIUS, speaking of the Psalms in general, says: "Qui legit Psalmos, ubique . . . . sua se verba in re sua legere opinatur; et quilibet ita psallit, quasi de se ea ipsa quae psallit, conscripta essent." If these words of the Bishop of Alexandria are true of the sentiments expressed by the sacred hymns as a whole, they are particularly applicable to those Psalms in which are described the dispositions of soul that are most frequently the lot of frail and sinful human nature. And of all the sentiments experienced by the vast majority of mankind, there is none into whose spirit men can enter with a more ready sympathy than that of deep and abiding sorrow for sin. It is not given to all to soar with the Psalmist to the poetic heights of his exquisite Oriental imagery, but there is no human being who cannot understand the pathetic plea for mercy and pardon sent forth from the depths of a heart crushed by the vivid realization of the fearful malice and the black ingratitude of deliberate mortal sin. And of the Psalms whose keynote is deep and sincere repentance there is none more intelligible, none more replete with lessons the most salutary, than the fiftieth Psalm, the *Miserere*.

King David, from whose heart first welled forth this perfect act of contrition, had been singularly blessed by the God of Israel. The youngest of the eight sons of Jesse, a small land proprietor belonging to the tribe of Juda, David was born in Bethlehem. He was engaged in the humble occupation of tending his father's flocks until summoned to the court of Saul to soothe the King by playing on the harp. Sent to carry presents and provisions to Saul, who was at the time engaged in war against the Philistines, David heard Goliath

defy all Israel to single combat, and he volunteered to accept the challenge. His glorious victory over the giant of Geth won for him the friendship of Jonathan and great popularity among the members of the King's court. Saul, however, jealous of the successes of the obscure shepherd, repeatedly attempted to take his life, but again and again his attempts were frustrated by divine intervention. Convinced at last by Jonathan that reconciliation with the King was impossible, David during the last years of Saul's reign became an exile and an outlaw. Finally, after both Saul and Jonathan had been slain at the battle of Mount Gelboe, the humble youth of Bethlehem, then only thirty years of age, was publicly and solemnly anointed King of the Chosen People. As a result of the great victories gained in the military enterprises which he undertook immediately after his accession, David succeeded in making Israel an independent state and caused his own name to be feared and respected by all the surrounding nations. It was at this time, when he was at the height of his power, a Ruler singularly blessed and protected by Almighty God, the beloved son of Jahwe Himself, that the greatest of the Kings of Israel committed adultery with Bethsabee and caused her husband Urias to be murdered.

But blinded, perhaps, by his military achievements and by the consequent adulation of his people, David did not realize the enormity of his crime until God sent Nathan to sound solemn warning that the divine vengeance was about to strike. And terrifying as well as forceful was the manner in which the prophet delivered his inspired message. "There were two men in one city", he said, "the one rich and the other poor. The rich man had exceedingly many sheep and oxen. But the poor man had nothing at all but one little ewe lamb. And when a certain stranger was come to the rich man, he spared to take his own sheep and oxen to make a feast for that stranger who was come to him, but took the poor man's ewe, and dressed it for the man that was come to him." David, greatly angered by this story of injustice, replied: "As the Lord liveth, the man that hath done this is a child of death. He shall restore the ewe fourfold, because he did this thing and had no pity." And then it was that the messenger of God revealed to the mighty King that the wretched sinner of the

parable was none other than David himself. "Thou art the man", was Nathan's solemn pronouncement. But the Prophet had still another revelation, one of the most fearful portent not only for the Ruler of Israel, but for his people as well. After enumerating the blessings which God had lavished upon the youthful monarch, Nathan proceeded to predict in clear language how heavily the hand of an outraged Father was to lie upon the ungrateful King and upon his unfortunate subjects. The sword was never to depart from his house; evil was to be raised up against him from out of his own house; his wives were to be dishonored before all Israel; the son that was to be born of adultery would die. And only then it was that David, his heart crushed by the revelation of the utterly miserable state of his soul in the eyes of God, broken by the realization of the calamities which the prophecy of Nathan entailed, bowed his head and humbly murmured: "Peccavi domino". The sublime sentiments of the Miserere, the most perfect act of contrition that ever welled forth from a penitent human heart, are but the fruit of the inspired meditation which the repentant King made upon the words of this simple confession.

I. Mercy and Pardon.

"Miserere!" what a word this to proceed from the lips of the powerful and victorious Ruler of God's Chosen People! He who was in a very special manner the beloved son, the anointed of Jahwe, he who held the most honorable position within the gift of the Almighty Himself, he who was renowned throughout the world, respected and feared by all nations—even such a one in the depths of his heart is so crushed and broken that he must breathe the humble prayer that God take pity on him: "Have mercy on me, O God." Yes, although the external condition of the Ruler of Israel is unchanged, in his innermost soul he is suffering the most cruel torments. And what is it that gives the lie to the artificial happiness of David's external grandeur? Sin it is, the deliberate mortal sins of adultery and murder, together with their fearful consequences of constant remorse, anxiety, sadness and dread of the divine vengeance. The great King of Israel, when he understood the full import of his confession to Nathan and

of the prophet's predictions concerning the punishment that was to be meted out to him even in this life, became the most miserable of men. Soon David will describe in detail the unhappy state of soul into which his crimes have plunged him, but for the present he is content with an appeal for mercy based on the agony of soul in which he has become engulfed.

"Mei, Deus!" What an antithesis! I and God! Creature and Creator! Servant and Master! The Psalmist's first disposition of soul on throwing himself at the feet of Jahwe had been profound humility. Now, the mention of the sacred name of the Almighty whom he had so deeply offended and to whom he was appealing for pardon makes his heart tremble with fear. But his fear, though intense, is filial and salutary because it is joined with sentiments of the greatest confidence. "Have mercy on me, O God", he prays, "according to thy great mercy." And David had indeed need of great mercy. He knew well the Law of God; he had taught it to others; he had been singularly blessed throughout his life by a very special Providence; and yet he had sinned, sinned grievously, knowingly, deliberately. The very fact that he directs a second touching appeal to God's infinite compassion, "According to the multitude of thy tender mercies blot out my iniquity", indicates that the King realized most vividly the enormity of his transgressions. Justly, too, does the contrite monarch refer to the divine pity in terms of "a multitude of tender mercies". "This expression", observes Bellarmine, "gives us to understand how unbounded is the mercy shown by God to His beloved children, for the Hebrew word signifies the tender love of a father. In fact, so great is the love of God for us that He not only grants much more than we deserve, but even more than we dare ask for."

Having thus humbly confessed his utter misery and having trustingly thrown himself upon the mercy of God, David now puts forth his plea for pardon: "Blot out my iniquity." And it is no small favor that the King asks, for he begs the perfect remission of his sin, prays that the record of it may be so thoroughly deleted from the Book of Life that his page in that Dread Account may be restored to its original spotlessness. The Royal Penitent realizes, however, that even after the return of sanctifying grace there remain in the soul strong in-

clinations to evil which render a man weak and infirm. Hence, in order that his will may be strengthened and better able to resist future temptations he implores again and again in the language of the Jewish purification ceremonial that his soul be washed and cleansed, that it be more and more justified by additional graces. "Wash me yet more from my iniquity," he prays, "and cleanse me from my sin."

II. Confession.

But the sinner to whom the light of divine grace has revealed a clear knowledge of the true heinousness of deliberate mortal sin cannot rest content merely with casting himself at the feet of a merciful God and imploring forgiveness. If he be sincerely contrite, he must seek to make atonement; and the first step on the path of reparation is humble confession. Thus David, the perfect penitent, confesses his sin not only before God and in the secrecy of his heart but also before all who will ever read his sublime plea for pardon. "I know my iniquity", is his public and solemn admission of guilt. How humble, how sincere is this simple confession! The Psalmist alleges no excuse, makes no denial, but acknowledges in clear and unmistakable language the full malice and the black ingratitude of his violation of the Law of God. And how profound was his understanding of that most important of all knowledge, the fact that he was in reality a vile and loathsome sinner! In the preceding verses his humble plea for pity, the comparison of his own nothingness with the infinite majesty of God, his repeated prayer that he be cleansed yet more from his iniquity—all indicate a most vivid conception of the enormity of his transgression; but what follows reveals in a still clearer light the depth of this realization. "My sin", he says, "is always before me." "Like an irate avenger it points the finger of accusation at me, continually torturing me with shame, with sorrow and with remorse, always reminding me of the fearful state of my soul in the eyes of God."

Although David had sinned by inflicting very grave wrongs upon others he understood full well that the essential malice of his deed proceeded from the flagrant violation of the Law of God rather than from the injustice committed against Bethsabee and Urias. "Thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not commit

adultery", were divine decrees solemnly promulgated amid the thunder and lightning of Mount Sinai, and it was against these commands of divine majesty that knowingly and willingly he had raised the standard of revolt. Hence, David confesses his sin as an offence against Almighty God rather than as an injury inflicted upon his neighbor. But the second member of this verse, "I have done evil before thee", indicates another cogent reason why the Psalmist should have regarded his crime principally as a rebellion against Jahwe. If there was any attribute of the Almighty by which the very soul of the King had been penetrated it was that of the Divine Omnipresence. "Whither shall I go from thy spirit", he sings in Psalm 138, "or whither shall I flee from thy face? If I ascend into heaven, thou art there; if I descend into hell thou are present. If I take my wings early in the morning and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, even there also shall thy right hand lead me. And I said: Perhaps darkness shall cover me and night shall be my light in my pleasures. But darkness shall not be dark to thee and night shall be light as day; the darkness thereof and the light thereof are alike to thee." "Yes", reasoned David, "my sin is not only a violation of the divine Law; it was also committed in the presence of the All-Holy One of Israel. I have sinned in secret in so far as the knowledge of men is concerned, but my deed has not escaped the all-seeing eye of Divine Omnipresence. I have openly raised my puny hand in defiance of Him who created me, of Him who has lavished so many blessings upon me, of Him who one day will be my most just and most strict Judge. What insolence, my God, what audacity, what foolhardiness was mine! Where was my faith, where my reason at the fatal moment of my sin? Who can understand sin?"

But the Psalmist is not content that his humble admission of guilt should serve only to make atonement to offended Divine Majesty. He realized that there were among the Israelites those who would be prompted to pass severe judgment upon Almighty God for inflicting upon their King the terrible punishments which the prophecy of Nathan entailed; and hence, impelled by the determination to manifest how complete and how sincere was his conversion, he rises in defence of Divine Justice. "I confess my sin", he says, "that thou mayest be

justified in thy words and mayest overcome when thou art judged."

Having, therefore, sincerely confessed the full malice of his sin and having humbly acknowledged the justice of the sentence pronounced against him, David now puts forth a circumstance which will serve in some way to mitigate the divine wrath. "For behold", he timidly asserts, "I was born in iniquity and in sin did my mother conceive me." "I did not sin", we may paraphrase, "because of malice alone; the innate inclination of my heart to evil is also in some degree responsible for my fall. From the moment of my conception I inherited a strong tendency toward what is wrong in Thy sight, and this sad legacy it is, together with my own deliberate fault, which has brought about my downfall." The Royal Penitent, of course, in no way attempts to place the responsibility for his transgressions with his parents or ancestors. In the hope of appeasing to some extent the anger of God he merely states the fearful consequences of original sin in himself, without attempting to found upon them a full justification for his crimes. There are commentators, however, who restrict the Psalmist's purpose in pleading his natural inclination to evil, to the mere confession of an additional circumstance which helps to explain more completely the full malice of his transgressions. It is our opinion that this explanation should not be followed to the exclusion of our interpretation. We believe in other words that since both explanations give a logical interpretation of the passage and since the one does not contradict the other, both can be adopted. Hence, in this verse David may be said to have a twofold purpose in mind, the mitigation of the divine wrath and the humble confession of the depravity of even his very nature.

III. Gratitude and Confidence.

Two profound truths, therefore, had been revealed to the King in a remarkably clear light, the infinite mercy of God and the full malice of deliberate mortal sin. Is it any wonder then that in the succeeding verse he should give expression to his gratitude to Almighty God for this singular favor? "For behold", he exclaims, "thou hast loved truth: the uncertain and hidden things of thy wisdom thou hast made

manifest to me." Yes, Jahwe loves the truth; He loves it especially when its manifestation takes the form of a sincere and humble confession of sin proceeding from a heart overwhelmed by the intimate knowledge of His great mercy and by the vivid realization of the full heinousness of a serious and deliberate violation of the divine Law. And an admission of guilt such as that of David is indeed ample evidence that these two great truths, so uncertain and so hidden to the vast majority of sinners, had penetrated into the innermost depths of the Psalmist's soul.

Thus far the Royal Penitent has given expression to the following dispositions of soul: he has humbly cast himself into the arms of Divine Mercy; he has pleaded repeatedly that his soul be cleansed from the sordid stain by which it had been polluted; he has sincerely confessed the full malice of his transgressions; he has declared his gratitude to Almighty God for the inestimable grace of the clear revelation of the greatness of the divine compassion and the deep and intense moral baseness of his crimes. Justly, therefore, does he now feel that his prayer for forgiveness has been heard, that his soul will be restored to its former spotless integrity, that the peace and happiness of the justified sinner will return to his tortured heart. "Thou shalt sprinkle me with hyssop", he confidently declares, "and I shall be cleansed: thou shalt wash me, and I shall be made whiter than snow. To my hearing thou shalt give joy and gladness: and the bones that had been humbled shall rejoice." But so intense is David's realization of the blackness of his guilt that even in this beautiful expression of confidence he indicates that his sin is still before him. "Thou shalt sprinkle me with hyssop" is an evident reference to the prescription of the Law that lepers and those defiled by the touch of a corpse should be purified by aspersion with the blood of sacrifical victims or with lustral water. (Lev. 14:6, Numb. 19:6). The Psalmist, therefore, now compares himself to a leper or to one contaminated by contact with a dead body and consequently in the succeeding verse he returns to his petition for pardon: "Turn away thy face from my sin", he again pleads, "and blot out my iniquities."

IV. Perseverance.

True and salutary penance, however, embraces not only detestation and sorrow for past sins, but includes also a change of mind and heart, the determination to embark anew on a life of virtue and to persevere in it, the resolution to make atonement for the injury inflicted upon Divine Majesty. David, therefore, having satisfied the negative requirements for justification, now gives expression to the positive disposition necessary for the return of sanctifying grace, the first of which is a change of mind and heart. "Create in me, O God", he prays, "a clean heart and renew a right spirit within my bowels." Ever the perfect penitent the Psalmist pleads not only for a change in the principle of his spiritual life, but implores that it be created in him anew. And again his prayer for regeneration indicates a most vivid perception of the malice of his sin, for his heart, he tells us, has been so completely defiled that only the omnipotence of God can restore it to its former soundness. Aptly, too, does David pray for the creation of cleanliness of heart rather than for a reform of or a healing of the principle from which his iniquity had proceeded. "The Psalmist", explains Bellarmine, "uses the word 'create' in order to make us understand that God finds nothing in the heart of a sinner whence to form cleanliness in it and that justification is effected by His great mercy without any merit whatsoever on the part of man."

The second positive disposition of the sincerely contrite sinner is the determination to remain steadfast in a virtuous life. Hence the King now prays for the grace of perseverance. "Renew", he pleads, "a right spirit within my bowels. Cast me not away from thy face; and take not thy holy spirit from me. Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation, and strengthen me with a perfect spirit." "Fortify my innermost soul, O my God", we may paraphrase, "with the spirit of perseverance, with a spirit prompt and ready to do all and to suffer all in the fulfillment of Your will. Permit me not to offend You again lest I compel You to withdraw Your grace from me forever. When I was anointed King of Israel, You bestowed upon me Your blessing in the form of a very special providence and an inspired direction; but by my sins I have lost this divine protection both for myself and for Your Chosen

People. Return to me, I beseech You, this most precious of your favors. Restore to me, too, the happiness and peace of soul that are born of the state of sanctifying grace and strengthen me in my determination to observe toward You in the future a kingly spirit, a spirit worthy of a prince, lofty, magnanimous, embracing all manner of good, abhoring everything that is evil."

V. Atonement.

The third essential element of salutary repentance is the determination to make atonement for the injury inflicted upon outraged Divine Majesty. And how spontaneous, how firm, how generous is David's resolution to fulfill this last requisite for true contrition. "I will teach the unjust thy ways", he resolves, "and the wicked shall be converted to thee." But magnanimous as is the Psalmist's determination to satisfy Divine Justice, the constant recollection of the more heinous of his sins, the murder of Urias, retards its fulfillment. In spite of his repeated pleas for pardon, in spite of the certainty that he had been forgiven, the memory of this deed of blood terrifies the King and stifles, as it were, the voice of his song of praise. Once again, therefore, he implores forgiveness for this crime. "Deliver me from blood, O God", he prays, "thou God of my salvation." And finally, assured at last that complete pardon has been granted him, David describes in detail how he will bring about the conversion of the wicked: "My tongue shall extol thy clemency. O Lord, thou wilt open my lips; and my mouth shall declare thy praise." "Not only will I avoid all sin in the future," he resolves, "but I shall do all in my power to restore the liberty of the children of God to unfortunate sinners who like myself have been ensnared by the meshes of iniquity. By word and by example, by singing your praises, by extolling Your mercy toward me, I shall teach the wicked Your ways, the ways of Your mercy, the ways of Your justice: so that profiting by my fall, by my repentance and by my punishment, they too may understand the full malice of sin, may cast themselves into the arms of Your divine mercy and may embark again on a life of virtue and holiness." And how efficaciously has this resolution of the penitent King been fulfilled! From the day on which

before all Israel he sang his inspired plea for pardon even unto the end of time, what multitudes of sinners encouraged by his words and by his example will have been prompted to beg forgiveness of the God who showed Himself so merciful to David and to start anew on the one path that leads to Life Eternal!

As final evidence of the sincerity of his conversion the Psalmist declares his eagerness to offer sacrifices of thanksgiving if only such expressions of gratitude were acceptable to Almighty God. But since according to the Mosaic Law mere external propitiatory offerings were of no avail in the case of adultery and murder, there was nothing left for David to do but to offer to Jahwe the only sacrifice that was acceptable to Him, that of a deeply penitent soul. "If thou hadst desired sacrifice," he says, "I would indeed have given it; with burnt offerings thou wilt not be delighted. A sacrifice to God is an afflicted spirit." And finally since profound sorrow and great confidence had been the sentiments with which David began his plea for pardon and since these dispositions of soul had been the keynote of his sublime act of contrition, he now brings his prayer to a close with the expression of the same sincere repentance and of the same perfect trust in the divine clemency: "A contrite and humble heart", he concludes, "thou wilt not despise." In other words the Psalmist solemnly declares that Almightly God has not and never will reject the plea of a contrite and trusting heart.

Although the two concluding verses are regarded by the vast majority of commentators as a prayer for the restoration of the Holy City and of the Temple added to the Psalm at the time of the Babylonian exile, they, nevertheless, constitute a very natural conclusion to David's sublime hymn. The Miserere thus far has revealed to us all the sentiments which agitated the Psalmist's heart from the moment at which he trustingly cast himself into the arms of Divine Mercy until the time when, rejoicing in his restoration to the friendship of God, he resolved to make atonement for his sins by teaching the wicked the ways of Jahwe's mercy and of his justice. The last two verses now represent the King as extending his zealous apostolate to the entire body of the People of God and as closing the Psalm with a beautiful prayer for all Israel. "Impute not to Thy

Chosen People", he pleads, "the guilt of my crimes: inflict not upon them the punishment that is due to me alone. Let their oblations and their whole-burnt offerings be acceptable to Thee. Then, on Thy altars, O Lord, in the kingdom of the Heavenly Jerusalem, calves shall be laid,—those who free from the yoke of sin rejoice forever in pastures where they shall want for nothing, free with the liberty wherewith Thou has made them free." [1]

Justly, then, does the Church during the penitential periods of the ecclesiastical year adopt into her glorious liturgy the sublime sentiments of David's inspired plea for pardon. During Lent, for example, she places the Psalmist's cry for mercy on the lips of Christ Himself, the atoning Victim for sin and she would have her children prepare themselves for the festival of the Saviour's Nativity by the frequent and prayerful recitation of David's perfect act of contrition. And finally in the Office of the Dead she sees in the Miserere the most fitting expression of the deep repentance of the Suffering Souls, of their ardent longings for the moment when in rest eternal joy and gladness shall be restored to them forever.

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PRE-REFORMATION PRINTERS AND THEIR SERVICES TO THE CHURCH.

II.*

ONE particular class of printers may claim our special attention on account of their intimate relation with the Church. I mean ecclesiastical printers. Modern people have long forgotten that there was such a class in pre-Reformation times, and yet they were but the natural result of the social conditions of that age.

The prelates and priests of the fifteenth century entertained most exalted ideas about the dignity and power of the printing press. The Archbishop of Mayence called printing, in 1486, a *divine art.* Bishop John Andrew Bussi, librarian of the Vatican library, in 1486 styled printing a *holy art.* The

[1] Eaton.

* See August REVIEW, pp. 154-166.

Archbishop of Manfredonia hailed printing as a *truly divine gift* about the same time.

In view of the high esteem in which printing was held by the clergy of all ranks, we can easily understand why priests who least of all were compelled during the fifteenth century to make a living by plying a trade, laid aside all prejudices to become apprentices to laymen, in order to be able later to exercise their priestly office of teaching by producing and spreading books. Countless priests had preached to the people within the sacred precincts of the churches. But now aided by the press they were able to carry the saving doctrines far and wide to the most secluded homes, everywhere meeting with joyful reception. Perhaps the clergy of those days had grasped more quickly the importance of the printed word as a help to religious instruction than the modern clergy have realized the need of Catholic newspapers.

We must distinguish various groups of ecclesiastical printers. The first group was composed of secular priests who devoted themselves exclusively to printing as their life work. There were 20 priests of this class, 10 Germans, 7 Italians, one Frenchman and one Spaniard.

First of all was Sixtus Riessinger. He gave up his position as canon at Strassburg to become an apprentice in the printing office of the inventor of printing, John Gutenberg, at Mayence about 1461. From 1470 to 1489 he printed books at Naples and Rome. In recognition of his services as printer he was offered a bishopric in Southern Italy, but declined it. Returning to his diocese he was appointed pastor of a village in the neighborhood of Strassburg, where he died after the year 1502. The names of the other German priest printers are (2) Conrad Schweynheim who printed books at Subiaco and Rome (1467-1473), (3) Arnold Pannartz at Subiaco and Rome (1467-1476), (4) Theobald Schenkbecher, a former canon at Strassburg, who printed books at Rome (1473-ca1480), (5) Henry Botel at Lerida in Spain (1479-1495), (6) Conrad Stahel at Passau, Bruenn and Venice (1482-1499), (7) Peter Metlinger at Besançon, Dole and Dijon (1487-1491), (8) Nicolas of Saxony at Lissabon (1490-1498), (9) John Bergmann at Basel (1494-1499), (10) John Weissenburger at Nuremberg and Landshut (1500-1531).

Italian priest-printers are the following: (1) Antonio Zarotus at Milan (1470-1504), (2) Bartholomeo de Libris at Florence (1482-1500), (3) Dionysius Bertochus at Vicenza, Venice, Bologna, Modena, Treviso and Reggio (1483-1502), (4) Francis Bonaccursio at Florence (1485-1496), (5) Bonetus Locatellus at Venice (1486-1510), (6) Laurentius de Morgianis at Florence (1490-1498), (7) John Baptist Farfengus at Brescia (1490-1499), (8) Lazarus de Soardis (1490-1517).

John Bouyer, a French priest, printed books at Poitiers (1491-1512) and Petrus Posa, a Spanish priest, at Barcelona (1482-1499). The dates indicate the time of their activity as master printers. Besides, all of them served a number of years as apprentices and journeyman printers.

A second group of secular priests practised printing only for a short time or at long intervals, publishing a small number of books. There were ten priests of this class, all Italians with the exception of one Frenchman.

The names of these priest-printers are: (1) Clemens Patavinus, the first native Italian printer, who worked at Venice in 1471, (2) Petrus Villa at Brescia in 1473, (3) Archangelus Ungardus at Milan ca1473-1474, (4) Zaninus Ripa at Pavia in 1476, (5) John Carolus at Florence and Venice (1481-1491), (6) Laurentius Cennis at Pescia (1485-1486), (7) Francis de Ragazonibus at Venice and Bologna (1491-1494), (8) Michel Andrieu, a Frenchman, at Goupillières (1491), (9) Bartholomaeus de Crescinis at Venice (1493), and (10) Michael Angelus Blasius at Florence (1495).

A third group is made up of secular priests who retained their ecclesiastical benefices, but became printers from the unselfish motive of promoting that worthy cause. These men are (1) Helias von Louffen, a rich canon of Beromuenster in Switzerland (1470-1473), (2) Caspar Elyan, a canon at Breslau (1475), and (3) Paul Reff, a canon at Copenhagen (1513-1519).

A fourth group is made up of secular priests who likewise retained their ecclesiastical benefices, but took up printing as a secondary source of income. These printers were: (1) Francis Lucensis, chanter of St. Mark's at Venice (1499), (2) Leonard Longus, parish priest of St. Paul's at Vicenza and

later at St. Lawrence's at Bel Vesin (1476-1482), (3) Martin Waldseemueller, canon at St. Dié (1501-1522), who became famous for coining first the name *America,* and (4) Peter Jacques, parish priest at St. Nicolas du Port (1503-1518).

The *above 37 secular priests were printers in the strict sense of the word.* We find besides them a group of men who set up private presses and hired their own printers to print books for them. These priest publishers were: (1) John Mueller or Regiomontanus, the celebrated astronomer at Nuremberg, who set up a press in his own house at Nuremberg (1474-1476), (2) Bertrand de Brossa, a rich canon at Poitiers (1479), (3) Peter Plume, a rich canon at Chartres (1482-1483), (4) Bishop Rogge at Stockholm (1486), (5) Walter Lud, a rich canon at St. Dié (1507-1518), (6) Pope Leo X at Rome (1516-1518), (7) Bishop John Salhausen at Meissen (1520), (8) Archbishop of Embrun (1489), (9) Archbishop or canons at Narbonne (1491).

Another group of secular priests entered into partnerships with printers. They probably never did any printing, but were active as managers, proof-readers and booksellers of their respective firms. These priest publishers were: (1) Andrew Friesner at Nuremberg (1474-1478), who quitted the business to teach theology at the university of Leipsic, (2) Gabriel de Orsonibus at Milan (1472), (3) Laurentius de Aquila at Venice (1475), (4) John Wolf or Lupus, chaplain at St. Peter's in Frankfort-on-the-Main (1478), (5) Hidde van Cammingha, parish priest at Leeuwarden in Holland (1483-1484), (6) Lopez Sanz at Salamanca in Spain (1496), and (7) John Peter Casoratus at Milan (1498).

Finally, secular priests gave board and lodgings to printers, besides rooms in their houses for printing shops. Thus William de Linis printed a book in 1477 at Ascoli in the house of the parish priest of St. Venance's Miser Pascale, and Paul Grijs printed a psalter in 1510 at Upsala in Sweden in the house of Archdeacon Ravaldus. We have no certainty in those two cases that those priests set up also the press. Yet the three bishops and four priests who set up presses in their own houses according to the mediveal custom gave also board and lodgings to their printers.

We have accordingly *a total of 37 priest printers and 18*

priest publishers, or 55 in all, from the ranks of the secular clergy.

In the above lists are not included a number of printers who probably were secular priests; but the documents to vouch for their clerical character are missing.

Priests were not the only class of ecclesiastics in the Middle Ages. The clerics in minor orders, both married and unmarried, enjoyed the same privileges and immunities as the higher ranks of clergy. These civil rights and franchises tempted many a man to enter the ranks of the clergy by taking the tonsure and minor orders. They were not obliged to celibacy.

We find a number of printers who in their books styled themselves *clerics*. Some historians would make us believe that these men had no orders and that the word "clerics" simply means "clerk". These printers, they allege, had been penmen before taking up the trade of printing or wished themselves to be regarded as such. This is a gross mistake. We have most positive evidence that some of those clerics had orders and therefore enjoyed the immunities of the clergy. On the other hand we know that a few of the above priest printers called themselves simply "clerics". Accordingly the word "clerics" had a twofold meaning denoting either a member of the clergy irrespective of orders, or a member of the lower clergy with minor orders.

The first printer of this group of clerical printers was Peter Schoeffer at Mayence (1450-1500). He was followed (2) by Albrecht Pfister at Bamberg (1460-1462), (3) Ulric Zell at Cologne (1462-1494), (4) John Neumeister at Albi, Lyon and Foligno (1462-1495). All these men served their apprenticeship in the printing office of the inventor John Gutenberg at Mayence. Other clerical printers were (5) George Lauer at Rome (1470-1481), (6) Adam Rot at Rome (1471-1474), (7) John Beckenhaub at Wuerzburg, Regensburg, and Strassburg (1473-1485), (8) Paul Leenen at Rome (1474-1476), (9) George Sachsel at Rome (1474), (10) Bartholomaeus Golsch at Rome (1474), (11) Eucharius Silber at Rome (1480-1500), (12) James Carolus at Florence (1488-1489), and (13) John Rosenbach at Barcelona, Tarragona, and Perpignan (1492-1498).

Paul Leenen was a cleric of the diocese of Liège. James Carolus belonged to the diocese of Florence. All the others were clerics belonging to German dioceses.

Besides these thirteen clerical master printers, a number of clerics were employed as journeyman printers in various shops. Their names, however, have been lost in the majority of cases. For the present we know only the names of two, John Jordan, a cleric of the diocese of Poitiers, and Thomas Nerec, a cleric of the diocese of Grenoble, both working at Toulouse in 1493.

We must add to these clerical printers Laurentius de Vivaldis, a member of the Secular Third Order of St. Francis, who printed books at Mondovi in Italy (1476-1495).

The Religious did not lag behind the secular clergy in their enthusiasm for the press. *Fourteen monks and friars are known by name to have been master printers,* viz. (1) John Gut or Bonus, a German Augustinian Hermit who printed books at Genova, Savona and Milan (1473-1475), (2) John Baptist Cavalus, a Carmelite friar, at Genova (1480), (3) John Colin, a Carmelite friar at Metz (1482), (4) Henry Wirzburg, a monk, at Rougemont in Switzerland (1491), (5) John de Theramo at Ascoli (1496), (6) Peter Ingenari, a Franciscan Observant Friar, a Brigittine monk, (7) Nicholas Keibs, a member of the Order of St. John, at Durlach in Germany, where he printed in 1512 the first book, (8) Stephen de Basignano Gorgoni, a Carmelite friar, at Lyon in 1516, (9-12) Pachomius, Theodore and Moses, monks, and Theodosius, priest and monk, at Venice (1519-1528) where they printed Slavic books, (13-14) Dominic of Pistoia and Peter of Pisa, both Friars Preacher, at Florence (1476-1483).

Six of these printers set up printing offices of their own, six others were in partnership with different printers or among themselves, while the last two named did business for Dominican nuns.

More numerous were the Religious printers whose names remained unknown to us. *Twenty-four monasteries set up presses, with religious as printers.* The Carthusian monks printed books in their monasteries at Parma (1477), Theerne in Belgium (ca1485), Cologne (1490-1513), Mariefred near Grypsholm in Sweden (1498), Ferrara (1503-1509), and

Strassburg (1518-1519). The Brethren of Common Life printed books in their monasteries at Cologne (1463-1464), Marienthal (1468-1484), Brussels (1472-1487), Rostock (1476-1500), and Gouda (1476-1512). The Benedictine monks did the same in their monasteries at Augsburg (1473-1474), Erfurt (1479), and Ottobeuren (1509-1518); the Augustinian Friars Hermit at Venice (1474-1478), Nuremberg (1479-1491) and Treves (1480-1482); the Augustinian Canons Regular at Milan (1487) and at Schoonhoven in Holland (1495-1507); the Cluniacensian monks at St. Albans in England (1480-1486); the Brigittine monks at Wadstena in Sweden (1495); the Cistercian monks at Zinna in Germany (1493); the Carmelite friars at Heilbronn in Germany (about 1500); and the Vallisombrosian monks at Vallisombrosa in Italy (1511). We are not including the printing press set up in the schismatic monastery at Cetinje in Montenegro.

The number as well as the names of these monastery printers have not been transmitted. We may, however, arrive at a tentative estimate of their number. The Benedictiones at Augsburg worked with five presses,[1] which would require a staff of twenty-five men. Assuming that only one press was in operation in each of the remaining twenty-three monasteries we must place the number of printers at 115. It is certain, however, that the larger monastic establishments worked with several presses, so that we may safely state that in those 24 monasteries from 180 to 200 monks and friars were employed as printers.

In the schismatic monastery at Cetinje eight type-setters worked simultaneously, and this would require four presses and four printers.[2]

Besides, printing presses were set up in thirty monasteries, where hired printers, mostly laymen, were employed by the monks and friars to produce books for them. First come twelve Benedictine abbeys, viz. Subiaco, Italy (1465-1467), St. Eusebio in Rome (1470-1472), Westminster in London (1477-1485), Nonantola in Italy (1480), Bamberg (1481), Lantenac in France (1488-1493), San Cucufat or Cugat in Spain (1489), Cluny (1492-1493), St. Germain des Près near

[1] Kapp, *Gesch. d. d. Buchhand*, p. 128.

[2] Jagic, *Der erste Cetinjer Kirchendruck*, Vienna, 1894.

Paris (1494-1497), St. Yrier de la Perche near Limoges (1495-1500), Montserrat in Spain (1499-1500 and 1518-1520), and Wessobrunn in Germany (1500-1507), then come three Charter-houses viz: Lyon (1485 and 1517), Venice (about 1515), and Namur (about 1515), two Premonstratensian abbeys in Germany, viz. Schussenried (1478), and Magdeburg (1504), two friaries of Augustinian Hermits, viz. Savona (1474) and Wittenberg (1509-1516), the monasteries of the Augustinian Canons Regular at Milan, St. Mary of Grace (1480-1486) and St. Ambrose (1487), the monastery of the Trinitarians at Valdemosa or Miramar in Spain (1485-1497), the monastery of the Hieronymites at Valladolid in Spain (1500), the hermitage of the Camaldolese monks at Fontebuono in Italy (1520), the priory of the Knights of St. John at Genova (1480), two friaries of the Friars Minor, one at Stockholm (1486-1487) and the other at Schiedam in Holland (1498), the Cluniacensian Priory at Rougemont in Switzerland (1491), and finally an unidentified monastery in Frankfort (about 1500) and another at LaGrasse in France (1513).

The first printing presses of Italy and England were set up in Benedictine monasteries, viz. at Subiaco and Westminster in London. It is well known that Caxton began printing in England in that famous abbey. The press set up in the Augustinian friary at Wittenberg in 1509 was destined to become quite notorious. Needless to say, this was the monastery where Martin Luther lived and where he inaugurated the so-called Reformation. After the expulsion of the Augustinian friars the monastery was turned into a private home for the Reformer. John Gruenenberg, a laymen, printed Catholic books in this monastery from 1509 till 1516, but in 1517 he began to print the heretical writings of Luther and his disciples.

Printing in a monastery included in those days also board and lodging for the printer.[3] It cannot in every case be decided who set up the printing office in these monasteries. The cost was sometimes defrayed by the printer himself or by a patron from the ranks of the laity.

Mention must be made here of two church dignitaries from the ranks of religious who set up presses. Archbishop Did-

[3] Haebler, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

acus Deza of Seville, a Dominican Friar, had the diocesan statutes printed on his private press at Seville in 1512. Cardinal Francis Ximenes established the famous printing office at Alcolà which brought out the Polyglot Bible (1512-1517). He was a member of the Observant Friars of the Order of St. Francis.

Finally we mention some printers whose relations to the Church were not as intimate as those of the above mentioned men. Friar John of Termo printed in 1496 the municipal laws of Ascoli in a Friary adjoining the church of St. Mary de Solistano of the same city. John Schurener printed books in 1474 in Hospitio Sanctis de Pireto at Rome. An anonymous printer worked from 1472-1474 in the house of the Papal secretaries Anthony and Raphael Maffei of Volterra at Rome.

A special class of ecclesiastical printers were the nuns. The printing office in the convent of Dominican nuns of St. James of Ripoli at Florence was quite a novel establishment. The real founder and manager of this monastic printing shop was the procurator of the convent, Friar Preacher Dominic di Daniello of Pistoia, who was assisted by the confessor of the nuns, Friar Preacher Peter di Salvatore of Pisa. The nuns were the type-setters, printers and general helpers in this establishment. They even founded their own type. An experienced printer, the German John Petri, was hired to set up the office in 1475 and 1476. Toward the end of 1476 the first book was issued from the press, a *Donatus minor,* but not a single copy of the 400 that were printed, has come down to us. No less than 69 books were printed by the nuns. The business was conducted on a large scale. Nine and ten books were brought out annually, and this represents the maximum capacity of a fifteenth-century firm. In fact this printing office of the Dominican nuns of Florence was the largest of all the monastic printing establishments prior to 1520. At least five presses must have been employed simultaneously, and they required a group of twenty-five nuns at work in that office. This printing establishment of the Dominican nuns at Florence is one of the best known of the time, owing to the fact that their account books have been preserved and published. The list of works dealing with this enterprising firm has grown already rather long. The best account of it is

given by Miss E. Nesi, in *Diario della stamperia di Ripoli.* Florence, 1903.

The Poor Clares at Soeflingen near Ulm in Germany had set up a press in their convent to print xylographic pictures of the Life of Christ and the Saints. The blocks used, to the number of about 38, are still preserved in the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg. The Senate of the Free City of Ulm, the temporal ruler of the place, issued an injunction against unlicensed printing at Soeflingen some time before 1500.

At Venice the nuns of Penance, popularly called "Converts," brought out a series of undated books from their private press. We cannot ascertain whether those books were printed before 1520 or not.

The number of books printed before 1501 by the above mentioned ecclesiastical printers, namely priests, clerics, monks and nuns, *amount to 1,400, or three-and-one-half of the book production of the fifteenth century.* The number of books which various ecclesiastics and monks had published by hired printers amounts to 146 in all up to the year 1501.

Francis Falk, a Catholic bibliographer of note, was the first man to call attention to this class of ecclesiastical printers in his book, *Die Druckkunst in Dienste der Kirche* (Cologne, 1879, pp. 9-27. He extended his list later in a series of articles published in the *Mainzer Journal* (Mayence 1887, nros. 177-181). "His work," writes Pastor,[4] "is founded on materials gathered from a very wide field, many of which have as yet been hardly, if at all, turned to account." We were able to add to Dr. Falk's list the names of *thirty-two priests and clerics* who printed books, of *seventeen priests and prelates* who set up presses, and *fifteen monasteries* where printing was done either by monks and friars or by hired lay printers.

Yet our extended list cannot be regarded as final. We omitted a number of names of printers who in all probability belonged to the ranks of the clergy. Likewise we omitted the names of several monasteries where in all probability books were printed. Since we could not arrive at any certainty, we passed them over. However, future researches will certainly add some of these to the above list, together with a number of others which hitherto have escaped the ken of bibliographers.

[4] *History of the Popes,* vol. IV, p. 68, note.

The Proof-Readers—1445-1500.

The proof-readers or, as they were styled formerly, correctors, were indispensable to a printing office. They held a more honorable position than their modern namesakes. It was their first duty to prepare for the press an accurate recension of the text of the hitherto unprinted old manuscripts. Then they had to write the prefaces, compile indices, draw up the sale-lists, hand-bills and posters for the booksellers. When supervising the printing, they were forced sometimes to make changes in the text. In short, the proof-readers combined the functions of critical editors with that of ordinary correctors for the press. The works of the earliest printers were corrected as a rule by ecclesiastics who enjoyed some reputation as scholars. Later, students of the various universities or professional castigators joined them.

The youthful humanists introduced the custom of adorning the printed books with some poetical effusion of their own in the form of an epistle, an epigram, a distich, or a rhetorical dedication to some patron. At times, one or the other of those patrons who financed the whole undertaking graciously contributed poems and epistles. We find among these patrons a cardinal and three bishops. Finally, the correctors acted as literary advisers to the printers, pointing out the books best suited for publication. In this way the office of a corrector was not only honorable but also influential.

We know at present the *names of 760 proof-readers,* twelve of them Jews, who exercised their office between 1450 and 1500. We find among them university professors of all four faculties, practising lawyers and doctors, senators of the various Italian republics, noblemen, students and humble teachers in common schools, besides the professional proof-readers. *No woman's name appears among them.*

The number of ecclesiastics engaged as proof-readers is rather large. The list of 760 correctors comprises among others one archbishop, ten bishops, 27 canons, 43 secular priests, one archpriest, two archdeacons, one deacon, two clerics, one protonotary apostolic, one auditor apostolic, one papal overseer, two papal lawyers, one episcopal secretary, 20 monks (12 Benedictines, 4 Cistercians, one Camoldolese, 3 Carthusians), 9 Canons Regular, 2 Hospitallers of St. John, 39 Franciscans,

28 Dominicans, 26 Augustinian Hermits, 5 Carmelites, 5 Servites, and 10 other monks and friars of five different orders. *We count, therefore, in all 237 ecclesiastical proof-readers or 31 per cent of the entire number of correctors whose names are known.*

We remarked above that one cardinal and three bishops contributed poems to the books which they financed. Besides, four secular priests assisted in the revision of the text for publication. But these men cannot be classed among the proof-readers.

The above list is obviously incomplete. We excluded from it all names of correctors who later turned printers. Since they are included in the above given number of printers, they could not be repeated here. Moreover, many printers were their own proof-readers. Several printers, being learned men, lent aid to other printers by correcting certain books which needed special attention. This class of proof-readers was likewise excluded from our list. Besides, as many as three and four correctors were sometimes engaged in watching the printing of one single book, where only one name is given. Finally, about twenty per cent of the books printed before 1501 do not bear the proof-readers' names nor any clue to their names.

All this goes to show that the actual number of proof-readers must have been considerably higher than 760. Taking as a base the ratio of "one corrector to every five printers", we can safely estimate that in the *total of 7,992 printers the number of proof-readers is represented by 1,332.* Accordingly we shall have 1,332 master printers, 1,332 proofreaders, and 5,328 journeyman printers. But even this estimate falls short of the reality.

THE PROOF-READERS—1501-1520.

Regarding the proof-readers who were active from 1501 to 1520 no data are available which would enable us to compile statistics. We may estimate that the number of proof-readers was equal to that of master printers. Hence at least 469 men exercised that honorable office besides a great number of others who had commenced their work prior to 1501 and continued it during these twenty years. Adding the 469 new proof-read-

ers to the 1,332 old ones, we have a *total of 1,801 proof-readers for the 70 years from 1450 to 1520.*

We are likewise unable to give statistics of the ecclesiastical proof-readers of this period. If the ratio was the same as in the fifteenth century, we would have to place their number at 145, and *this would yield 382 ecclesiastical proof-readers for the 70 years from 1450 to 1520.* Yet this estimate is very uncertain.

One curious incident may be mentioned here. Cardinal Marcus Vigerio, O. M. Conv., published at Fano in 1507 his *Decachordum Christianum,* a treatise on the mysteries of the Incarnation. It is a superbly illustrated book and ranks among the most beautiful works ever printed. What is particularly curious about this Catholic book is the fact that its printer was a Jew, the famous Gershom or Jerom Soncinus, and the correctors were two Franciscan Friars working in his office.[5]

Financiers and Patrons of the Printers—1450-1500.

One of the many vexing problems facing the inventor of printing and his earlier successors was the raising of funds to carry on their trade. We mentioned above that several hundred printers entered into partnership with other printers or with wealthy men. In the latter case these men supplied the money in part or in full, while the printers did only the work. Although these capitalists were not printers, they must be regarded as publishers and in many instances acted also as proof-readers, managers of the firm or booksellers. Their number is included in the above figures.

Different from these capitalists who loaned their money to printers upon interest was another class of men whom we may fitly call the financiers. They did not enter into formal partnership with printers. They did not loan money, in order to do business. They ordered certain books to be printed at their cost from the disinterested motive to make them accessible to the people either at a greatly reduced price or by free distribution. These men were real bibliophiles.

No less than 285 names of financiers have become known, mostly through the printers' custom of placing these names on

[5] Panzer, *Annales Typogr.,* VII, 2. 11.

the books alongside with their own. Twenty-four of these men acted likewise as proof-readers and were not included, since they were counted above as proof-readers. We find among those 285 financiers, one pope, one cardinal, four archbishops, ten bishops, six canons, two episcopal secretaries, 23 secular priests, one cleric, five Augustinian Hermits, four Dominicans, three Carmelites, three Benedictines, two Friars Minor, two Servites, two Canons Regular, and five other monks of five different orders, in *all 74 ecclesiastical financiers* or 26 per cent of the total.

The printers followed the usage of the medieval scribes in dedicating their works to certain patrons. A dedication was at first an expression of esteem and homage. Now and then men and women who found themselves honored in this way responded with liberal donations to the printers or proof-readers. Before long, however, the dedication turned out to be a sure means of obtaining donations from rulers, noble personages or other rich patrons. From 1470 to 1500 we find dedications to three popes, fifteen cardinals, two archbishops, twenty bishops, four canons, three secular priests, one abbot and one abbess. These patrons did not finance the entire enterprise of printing, like the financiers, but they contributed liberally toward that cause.

Financiers and Patrons—1501-1520.

No available data for statistical computations can be had for this period. The outstanding financier and patron of printers was Cardinal Ximenes in Spain. Pope Leo X set up a press in Rome in 1516 and had in 1514 printed at his cost at Fano the first book in Arabic type. This was a breviary in Arabic for the use of the Melchite clergy.[6] Besides, the Roman printers found employment as in the fifteenth century in printing a long series of papal documents.

A number of bishops and cardinals called printers to their cities, where they aided them financially. We mention the Cardinals Torquemada and Caraffa in Rome, Archbishop Talavera in Granada, the bishops of Wuerzburg, Ratisbon, Augsburg, Meissen and Odense in Denmark. The first books

[6] See description of this work by the author in *Am. Cath. Quarterly Review*, vol. XLII, 1917, pp. 58-60.

printed in the city of Meissen were printed in the bishop's house.

Kings and queens had bestowed their favors on the printers during the fifteenth century and continued to do so during this period. In 1517 we find also the Emperor among their patrons.

The bishops as spiritual and temporal rulers granted privileges to printers which in monetary value were more precious than the most liberal donations could be: they copyrighted their books. The early printers had no power to restrain competitors from reprinting their books. It was only as late as 1490 that we find the first instance of a copyright. *And this first copyright was granted by a bishop,* Henry Gross, bishop and temporal ruler of the diocese of Bamberg. Such privileges of copyright remained extremely rare up to the year 1520. Pope Leo X, in order to protect an edition of Pindar's works, in 1515 imposed the heaviest penalty of excommunication upon infringement of copyright.[7]

Finally we must mention the liberality of the Archbishop of Mayence toward the inventor of printing. In 1462 the printing office of Gutenberg at Mayence was destroyed by the war, whereby he suffered the greatest losses. To keep the aged inventor from starvation Archbishop Adolf granted him on 17 January, 1465, a yearly pension. Gutenberg could enjoy this gift only for three years. He died in January, 1468.

Conclusion.

The above statistical account speaks eloquently of the support given to the struggling printers by both clergy and laity. Ecclesiastics of all ranks from the Pope to the simple priest, and lay people from the emperor to the rich burgher dispensed liberally from their purses to further the cause of printing. And the large number of ecclesiastical printers, priests, monks, and nuns, are perhaps the most striking manifestation of the great enthusiasm for the press which prevailed in those days. Yet these dry figures cannot adequately express the aid given and received. Moral support, that strong but subtle element, is so elusive of historical analysis that it can only be felt, but not expressed in words and figures.

[7] Panzer, *Annales Typogr.*, VIII, 256. 99.

The deeds of the Catholic printers in pre-Reformation times stand out in such prominence on the pages of history that not even the most bitter antagonists of the Church have ever tried to rob them of their glorious renown. Their ecclesiastical patrons, however, have fared differently; the monks, and later the clergy in general, have come in for a large share of obloquy from historians for alleged opposition to printing. In England "lying" Fox had the effrontery to spread such calumnies at the very beginning of the Reformation. In 1563 he wrote: "When printing began to give a free Bible, the ignorant and illiterate and dominating monks cried out against it"; and the vicar of Croyden in Surrey, then preaching at St. Paul's Cross, said: "We must root out printing, or printing will root us out".[8] This slanderous story has been repeated down through the centuries to our days.[9]

On the continent, however, more than two centuries had to pass before the Church's services to printing were forgotten and the slanderers could venture to traduce her on this score. In 1778 Fr. X. Laire refuted the then current calumnies in his work on early printing in Rome. Nevertheless the historians continued to revamp the old slanders, so that one hundred years later, in 1879, the noted bibliographer Franz Falk was constrained to state that he could not find a single bibliographer who took note of Laire's findings.[10]

Things changed soon after and the opponents of the Church gave her too much praise. John Addington Symonds wrote:[11] "It is impossible to exaggerate the benefits conferred upon Europe by the Italians at this epoch. The culture of the classics had to be appropriated before the movement of the modern mind could begin. This task the Italian printers undertook alone." G. H. Putnam[12] reiterates the same view. Accordingly these authors are very lavish in their praise of popes and prelates who supported those printers. If it were true that those Catholic printers in Italy paved the way for the beginning of "the movement of the modern mind," the popes

[8] *Acts and Monuments,* I, p. 927.

[9] *Mag. Am. Hist.,* XII, p. 508.

[10] *Druckkunst,* Cologne, 1879, p. 20.

[11] *Renaissance in Italy,* p. 56.

[12] *Books and their Makers,* I, New York, 1896, p. 320.

and prelates of the Church would be blamable for being accessory to their guilt by supporting them. As matters stand, the modern mind or modern paganism had very little to do with the Italian Renaissance. We hope to point out that the current notion of the Renaissance is a creation of Protestant prejudice which unfortunately has found credence with certain Catholic historians.

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Analecta

LITTERAE APOSTOLICAE.

SANCTUS IOANNES BAPT. VIANNEY, PRESBYTER CONFESSOR, CAELESTIS PATRONUS OMNIUM PAROCHORUM SEU ANIMARUM CURATORUM URBIS ET ORBIS CONSTITUITUR.

PIUS PP. XI.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. — Anno Iubilari MDCCCXXV Beato Ioanni Baptistae Vianney, Presbytero confessori, qui a Vico *Ars*, in quo est parochi munere functus, nuncupatur, Sanctorum honores tributi sunt; atque anno MDCCCCXXVIII, cum eiusdem Officium Missaque adprobata fuerint, festum sancti parochi ipsius ritu duplici celebrandum ad universam Ecclesiam extensum est. Nunc autem ab Episcopo Bellicensi, cuius dioecesis intra fines exstat *Ars* vicus, nomine quoque aliorum fere quadringentorum ex variis et fere cunctis terrae regionibus Archiepiscoporum Episcoporumque, rogati sumus ut tamquam caelestem Patronum animorum curatoribus ubique terrarum degentibus Sanctum Ioannem Baptistam Vianney concedere dignaremur. Nil enim magis opportunum videtur quam ita parochis omnibus exempla praebere ipsius sancti viri, quem in paroeciali munere obeundo insignem Ecclesia dilaudat. Etenim ex eiusdem sedulitate in animorum cura gerenda iam etiam Decessor Noster rec. mem. Pius Pp. X, anno MDCCCCV, Beatum Ioannem Baptistam Vianney illico post sollemnem eius Beatificationem constituit caelestem

Patronum universis presbyteris, qui in Galliae dioecesibus parochi munus gererent. Id profecto attento seduloque studio Nos considerantes, precibus concedendum existimavimus tantorum Praesulum, qui, quinquagesimi anni ab inito Nostro sacerdotio occasionem nacti, vota faciunt impensa ut huiusmodi largitas spiritualis, quam a Nobis instanter efflagitant, Iubilaei Nostri cum memoria apud posteros coniungatur, eiusdemque ita peculiaris exstet recordatio. Conlatis propterea consiliis cum Camillo Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinali Laurenti, Diacono Sanctae Mariae Scalaris, Sacrae Rituum Congregationis Praefecto, motu proprio atque ex certa scientia ac matura deliberatione Nostris, deque apostolicae Nostrae postestatis plenitudine, praesentium Litterarum tenore Sanctum Ioannem Baptistam Vianney Confessorem, qui insignis et apostolicus vir ac parochus oppiduli *Ars* nuncupati fuit, caelestem Patronum omnium parochorum seu animarum curatorum totius Urbis et Orbis constituimus ac declaramus.

Haec ad spirituale parochorum bonum ubique terrarum provehendum concedentes, statuimus, decernentes praesentes Litteras firmas validas atque efficaces iugiter exstare ac permanere, suosque plenos atque integros effectus sortiri et obtinere, illisque ad quos spectant sive spectare poterunt amplissime suffragari; sicque rite iudicandum esse ac definiendum, irritumque ex nunc et inane fieri, si quidquam secus super his, a quovis, auctoritate qualibet, scienter sive ignoranter attentari contigerit. Non obstantibus contrariis quibuslibet.

Datum Romae, apud Sanctum Petrum, sub anulo Piscatoris, die XXIII m. Aprilis an. MDCCCCXXIX, Pontificatus Nostri octavo.

P. CARD. GASPARRI, *a Secretis Status.*

DIARIUM ROMANAE CURIAE.

RECENT PONTIFICAL APPOINTMENTS.

10 January, 1929: Mr. Leo Crowley, of the Archdiocese of Milwaukee, Knight of the Order of St. Gregory the Great, civil class.

12 January: The Right Rev. Francis William Howard, Bishop of Covington, Assistant at the Pontifical Throne.

26 January: Monsignors Charles F. Gibney, Thomas F. Lynch, Thomas Cronin, C.SS.R. and William B. Farrell, of the Diocese of Brooklyn, Domestic Prelates of His Holiness; Francis P. Connelly and Francis J. Oechsler, of the same Diocese, Privy Chamberlains Supernumerary of His Holiness; and Messrs. Joseph Lilly, Patrick Mallon, George Hoffmann and Thomas Murray, of the same Diocese, Knights of the Order of St. Gregory the Great, civil class.

29 January: Mr. Julius Adolph Lefrançois, of the Archdiocese of Quebec, Knight of the Order of St. Gregory the Great, civil class.

21 February: Messrs. Howard and Andrew Kerr, of the Archdiocese of Westminster, and Augustine Harford and James Philip Reynolds, of the Diocese of Liverpool, Privy Chamberlains of the Sword and Cape Supernumerary of His Holiness.

5 March: Monsignors Michael Barry, of the Archdiocese of Dubuque, James M. Foran, of the Diocese of Brooklyn, and Andrew J. Burns, John P. McGuire and Frederick F. Connor, of the Diocese of Rockford, Domestic Prelates of His Holiness.

6 March: Monsignor Francis J. McMurray, of the Diocese of Brooklyn, Privy Chamberlain Supernumerary of His Holiness.

7 March: Messrs. John Curtin and Edward Killeen, of the same Diocese, Knight of the Order of St. Gregory the Great, civil class.

22 March: Mr. Louis P. Gagnon, of the Archdiocese of Quebec, Knight of the Order of St. Gregory the Great, civil class.

27 March: Mr. Zephyrin Giasson, of the same Archdiocese, Knight of the Order of St. Gregory the Great, civil class.

5 April: Mr. Joseph Eugene Chapleau, of the same Archdiocese, Commander of the Order of St. Gregory the Great, civil class; and Messrs. Joseph Gerard E. Giasson and Joseph Henry Levasseur, of the same Archdiocese, Knights of the Order of St. Gregory the Great, civil class.

13 April: Monsignors Ernest E. Corbishley and Philip E. Hallett, of the Diocese of Southwark, Domestic Prelates of His Holiness.

14 April: Monsignor Francis Joseph Spellman, of the Archdiocese of Boston, Domestic Prelate of His Holiness.

18 April: Monsignors John W. McMahon and Francis A. Burke, of the same Archdiocese, Domestic Prelates of His Holiness.

24 April: Mr. Daniel A. Ryan, of the Diocese of Harbor Grace, Newfoundland, Commander of the Order of St. Gregory the Great, civil class.

29 April: Monsignor Thomas James Rooney, of the Diocese of Sandhurst, Victoria, Australia, Protonotary Apostolic *ad instar participantium.*

3 May: Monsignors Thomas A. Donohue and Francis Sullivan, of the Diocese of Buffalo, and Frederick Henry Huesmann, of the Diocese of Sioux City, Domestic Prelates of His Holiness.

6 May: Monsignor Martin Thomas O'Connell, of the Diocese of Sioux City, Privy Chamberlain Supernumerary of His Holiness.

8 May: Monsignors Henry F. Joseph Kroll and Bartholomew Biegel, of the Diocese of Fort Wayne, Privy Chamberlains Supernumerary of His Holiness.

12 May: Monsignor Leonidas Perrin, of the Archdiocese of Montreal, Domestic Prelate of His Holiness.

14 May: Monsignor John J. Lannon, of the Diocese of Corpus Christi, Domestic Prelate of His Holiness.

16 May: Monsignors Anthony J. Rezek, Raymond G. Jacques and Henry A. Buchholtz, of the Diocese of Marquette, Domestic Prelates of His Holiness..

Mr. Percival de St. Rubin, of the Diocese of Providence, Knight of the Order of St. Gregory the Great, civil class.

Studies and Conferences

Questions, the discussion of which is for the information of the general reader of the Department of Studies and Conferences, are answered in the order in which they reach us. The Editor cannot engage to reply to inquiries by private letter.

OUR ANALECTA.

The Roman documents for the month are:

APOSTOLIC LETTER proclaims St. John Baptist Vianney, Curé of Ars, Patron of parish priests all over the world.

ROMAN CURIA announces officially recent pontifical appointments.

EUCHARISTIC PIETY.

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW:

As translator of the article "Eucharistic Piety" by Dom Gommaire Laporta in the January number of the REVIEW, I ought perhaps to take some notice of the communication which appears in your June number.

But I shall not comment at length, for the writer of the communication has withheld his name, and besides, the case seems to be one where discussion might grow to great length and do not particular good. The writer touches briefly and broadly upon many points and his purpose seems to be to express disagreement with the article rather than to enter into discussion.

However, there is one point which I may take up. The writer says: "Then, after granting 'a gain in dogma' (would not a gain in understanding of dogma have been a better term?), the article proceeds to allege the reverse in matters of piety."

That led me to refer to the original and to my translation to see if I may have been inaccurate. I find that the term "a gain in dogma" which the writer has put in quotation marks does not occur in my translation. Here is what I read: "But, while it is true that in matters of dogma development

does mean gain, at least in the logical order, it is not true that all changes which have occurred throughout the centuries in matters of piety have always been in the direction of progress."

Dom Gommaire's sentence is: "Or, s'il est vrai que tout développement dogmatique représente une acquisition au moins logique, il n'est pas admissible pourtant que tous les changements survenus au cours des âges, dans la piété, aient été autant de progrès."

The writer appears to have read the passage hurriedly and perhaps this is indicative of a hurried reading of the whole article.

To those who think as I do that Dom Gommaire does well to point out a certain lack of perspective and proportion in modern Eucharistic devotion, I would take occasion to mention *Eucharistia* by Joseph Kramp, S.J., and *A Key to the Doctrine of the Eucharist* by Abbot Vonier.

WILLIAM BUSCH.

MARYKNOLL MISSION LETTERS.

THE ESSENCE OF A MISSION VOCATION.

India has given the Catholic Church some interesting writers, and this is as it should be. Strange as it may sound, the missioner by his very position seems better qualified to contribute to Catholic thought, at least in those fields that pertain to Catholic action. He has not the quiet requisite to sustained thinking on ascetic theology, such as contemplatives may enjoy; he has not the field to exercise like priests in Christendom their practical solutions of problems; but, at least he has the aloofness needed for thought, and the surroundings conducive to speculation.

In India, the veteran Father E. R. Hull, S.J., for the past two score of years has explained, perhaps more clearly than many others, Catholic psychology and the problems of the growing mind. A more recent entry in the field is another Jesuit, the Most Reverend Alban Goodier, S.J., Archbishop of Bombay. His is the genial style of a mellowed experience, of a soul that is not ashamed to speak of love and friendship, with sympathy for the human in the saint.

In his *School of Love,* Archbishop Goodier touches on an essential in the missioner's vocation, on the one virtue taught in the school of Christ when He would call a soul to mission work—the virtue of loneliness.

Loneliness, not lonesomeness—the ability to stand independent and strong, free in spirit, clear in judgment, and firm in will. In the silence of the night, God's Wisdom comes to man, giving breadth of vision to lead his people, as to Moses on the Mount. When God called an Apostle for the Gentiles, He led Saint Paul apart into a silent place to the desert of Arabia; He began the modern conversion of China by setting Xavier on the deserted isle of Sancian.

God's ways are so unworldlike and so simple. He trains the soul to know man by a study of itself. He demands much, and the higher the vocation the more God asks. He calls the missioner to "leave thy country and thy father's house, and come into a land which I shall show thee". The mission vocation demands a complete dedication of self, a voiding of the past, lest in preaching Christ the preaching be tainted by a love of self or country.

It is a hard demand Christ makes, but in its very hardness is its gain. He does not say "Go" but "*Come,* into a land" where He has gone before and is waiting. And the loneliness is needed, for only then is Christ found, and, having found Him, the missioner can say with St. Paul: "I am sure that neither death, nor life, nor Angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor might, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature shall be able to separate me from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

FRANCIS X. FORD, A.F.M.,
Superior of the Maryknoll
Prefecture Apostolic of
Kaying, South China.

SERVING THE SICK POOR.

The following interpretation of service of needy cancer patients is from the pen of Mother Alphonsa Lathrop, daughter of Nathaniel Hawthorne, who devoted herself completely to that supremely noble work following her conversion.

I am trying to serve the sick poor as a servant, and I wish to go to them as a poor creature myself, though powerful to help through the open-handed gifts of public kindness. In tending the sick poor, we must band ourselves not by twos and threes, but by groups, and every group of women thus working should be made up of souls who are in love with self-denial. In order to accomplish anything that will be lasting, women must be called who are capable of renouncing ease and pastime for the sake of that true love of God which shares the sufferings of Christ in a mode of life which He recommended and lived. Without just such labors the work I advocate cannot flourish. Anyone who reads the historical records of charity can discover what such labors accomplish in evolving an activity that may be felt everywhere. And I hope for the sake of so great a benefit to the larger number, women will realize that self-consecration is even now both fitting and possible, on the very lines made clear by sturdy and spiritual workers of the past.

It is my desire to bring nurses together under this ensign, by spreading a knowledge of our need of such who will be inspired by the strength of true love against the evil of cowardly indifference. Among the points that I have settled to my own satisfaction are these: I find that women intent upon doing something obedient to God's expressed wishes can indeed do something, however little, that is of vital use to the sick. Is not little enough to do? One can leave it wholly to God to make the effort larger in its scale of usefulness, provided we are on the alert not to make the number of our beneficiaries small through our laziness or stupor. The quality of our kindness is all that it is our duty to determine with restless anxiety,—after we have calmly moved every mountain we can stir lying in the way of the aggrandizement of the charity we have chosen.

When I first visited the sick I fancied that a trial of my skill and ability would lead to my prompt dismissal from the field of my poor friends, but the sick do not discourage one from coming. Every day is made beautiful by gratitude and welcome so genuine and strong with true life that I seem to be brushed aside by One who says: "I am here!" It is a privilege, is it not, to be near such vivid hope and love.

On the first night of my life in a new, and at that time an alarming scene, the cheerful voices of children upon the street close to my window gave me a sense of safety. Ever since the children have made me very happy by being so happy and so kind. The joy of little children, who feel with wonderful intuition the sincerity of a person who would do anything for their benefit, when your steps approach them, fainting though you may be with overstrained sympathies and energies, their bubbling joy when they cluster about you seems like an utterance from God Himself and your heart has no sorrow for hours afterward.

I purpose to go on in my care of persons needing aid just so widely as the aid given me for them allows, and shall never permit myself to deny anyone assistance because of any reason whatsoever that springs from my own convenience. A crowd of hindrances to charitable activity are ruled out by this simple test, the secret in all this being that we must ignore the admonition of our own convenience, and listen only to the pleasure of our Divine Master, which always advocates the cause of the poor.

MOTHER M. ALPHONSA LATHROP.

BAPTISM OF A PERSON LIVING IN SIN.

Qu. Mrs. B. is invalidly married to a Catholic. The marriage cannot be revalidated owing to the fact that the husband's first wife is still living. Mrs. B. is well instructed in the Catholic religion and makes open profession of it as far as possible. She desires to be baptized, but her pastor refuses on the ground that she is living in sin and intends to so continue, which constitutes an obstacle to the liceity and validity of the sacrament. Another priest advises him that the sacrament is valid under the circumstances, but illicit. A third maintains that it is both licit and valid. Which is the correct solution?

Resp. It is difficult to understand what reason the pastor has for holding that baptism in this case would be invalid. Probably he confuses the unworthy reception of the sacrament with its invalid reception. Even though received unworthily, the baptism can nevertheless be valid. If only the dispositions of Mrs. B. are considered, that would be verified in the present instance. For Mrs. B. has a very positive intention of receiving baptism in the Catholic Church. On her part therefore nothing prevents the valid reception of that sacrament.[1]

[1] S. C. S. Off., 1 August, 1860 — C. I. C. Fontes, n. 963. Cf. Cappello, *De Sacramentis*, Turin, 1921, I, n. 13.

Her reception of baptism, however, would be unworthy. Worthy reception of baptism by an adult requires that he have at least attrition for his personal sins. Now Mrs. B.'s attrition is insufficient and insincere, since it lacks a necessary complement, namely, a firm purpose of amendment, for she is determined to persevere in her adulterous union. Hence her reception of baptism, while valid, would be unworthy. Far from producing the new man in Christ in her, it would burden her soul with the added guilt of sacrilege.

It were folly here to suggest good faith, seeing that with her acceptance of the Catholic faith she must accept the teaching of the indissolubility of marriage and thus recognize her own sinful state. Even if she were to assert her conviction that her present state is not wrong, she could not be believed; for the Catholic doctrine of the indissolublity of marriage, of the prohibition of divorce and of the resultant invalidity of a second marriage while both parties to the first marriage are still living, is too well known to be ignored by a convert. She must therefore be considered in bad faith, and so her reception of baptism in her present frame of mind would be sacrilegious.[2]

This suggests the answer to the other question, whether a priest could lawfully receive her into the Church and baptize her. Since reception of baptism by her in her present condition would be sacrilegious, it would likewise be a sacrilege for the priest to confer baptism. This phase of the question is not treated by moralists when discussing baptism, for the reason that it is quite exceptional. But the same rules, relatively speaking, must *per se* be applied here as in refusing absolution to a penitent who may have made a complete confession but lacks the firm purpose of amendment.[3]

It is the second priest's solution that is correct. The baptism of Mrs. B., as far as the requirements on her part are concerned, would be valid but unlawful. Pastoral prudence, however, will bid the pastor not to be brusque in rejecting her

[2] Cappello, *op. cit.*, I, n. 88, 3.

[3] Cappello, *op. cit.*, I, n. 70-76. In an extraordinary case a priest fully cognizant of the lack of a firm purpose of amendment on the part of a baptizand would nevertheless be obliged to comply with the request for baptism, viz. if on the one hand the fact of the baptizand's living in an adulterous union were entirely unknown to the people because the bond of the preëxisting marriage was concealed and on the other the refusal to baptize such a one would betray the actual conditions. Cf. Canon 855, § 2.

requests, but to be forbearing in order to preserve the spark of faith so that, if a change of conditions permits it, he can baptize and receive her into the Church with good conscience. Moreover, if the circumstances are favorable, he may be able to persuade this woman and the man with whom she is living to separate, or, if there is no danger of continued sin and of scandal, to live as brother and sister. Then he could lawfully admit her to baptism at once.

BISHOPS CANNOT SUBDELEGATE FACULTIES GRANTED IN CANON 349, § 1, N. 1.

Qu. Canon 349 § 1 n. 1 empowers bishops to bless religious articles, to erect the "Stations of the Cross" and to bless crucifixes, attaching to them the indulgences of the Way of the Cross in favor of those who cannot make the "Stations". Can a bishop subdelegate this power to his priests?

Resp. As canon 349 § 1 clearly indicates, the faculties mentioned in the above inquiry are a personal privilege bestowed upon bishops, not as local Ordinaries, but in view of their episcopal character; wherefore they are enjoyed not only by residential bishops but also by titular bishops.[1]

As a personal privilege, this power cannot be delegated to any other person. This has been clearly defined by two replies of the Sacred Penitentiary. In the first it declared that the power in question cannot be delegated *habitually*.[2]

Some commentators have sought to conclude from this declaration that subdelegation of this power *per modum actus* was permissible. The Sacred Penitentiary, however, thereupon declared that bishops could not even *for individual cases* communicate to others the faculties granted to themselves in canon 349 § 1, N. 1, and that not even the Vicar General as such enjoys them.[3]

[1] Cf. S. R. C., 26 November, 1919, V, ad 2.—*Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, XII (1920), 180-182.

[2] 18 July, 1919—*Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, XI (1919), 332. Cf. ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, LXI (1919), 555.

[3] 10 November, 1926—*Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, XVIII (1926), 500. Cf. ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, LXXVI (1927), 191.

ORGAN DURING THE PREFACE.

Qu. Is it permitted to play the organ during the singing of the Preface and Pater Noster, if that is of assistance to the celebrant?

Resp. The prohibition of the playing of the organ whilst the celebrant is singing the Preface and Pater Noster is implied by the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* (Lib. II, cap. 28, sec. 9), inasmuch as these parts of the Mass are not enumerated among those at which the use of the organ is permitted. The S.R.C. (27 January, 1899, No. 4009), when asked this question, answered: "Obstat *Caeremoniale Episcoporum,* quod servandum est."

Thus the chanting of the celebrant and ministers at the altar must never be accompanied by the organ (Decree 4009).

Pius X in his Motu Proprio says: "With the exception of the melodies proper to the celebrant at the altar and to the ministers, which must be always sung in Gregorian Chant and *without accompaniment of the organ,* all the rest of the liturgical chant belongs to the choir of levites, etc."

BAPTIZING A DYING NON-CATHOLIC UPON REQUEST.

Qu. Miss A. has advanced tuberculosis, death in all probability being but a matter of weeks. She desires to be baptized by a priest, but explicitly refuses to join the Catholic Church. In the event of the priest's refusal she will call in a Protestant minister. The priest, fearing an invalid Protestant baptism, administers the sacrament. Is his procedure licit?

Resp. *Per se* it is unlawful to baptize a person in circumstances such as the above; for the refusal to join the Catholic Church is a rejection of the one true Church. Baptizing the woman when this is her determination would be coöperating with her sinful reception of the sacrament. It cannot be objected that she may be in good faith and therefore not guilty of formal sin. This may be true enough. Nevertheless the Catholic, be he priest or layman, who baptizes such a one, administers the sacrament to a person not entitled to it. The reason is the refusal to submit to the Church which alone Christ has commissioned to administer His sacraments. This is not a mere opinion, but the express law of the Church, which in Canon 731 § 2 states very clearly and unmistakably:

> It is forbidden to administer the Sacraments of the Church to heretics or schismatics even if they err in good faith and request them, unless they shall first have rejected their errors and shall have been reconciled to the Church.

Even the danger that a Protestant minister might baptize invalidly does not warrant a departure from the above canon in which the Church is but formulating in words the law which Christ gave implicitly when He entrusted His sacraments to her charge. That danger is the woman's greater misfortune, for which neither the Church nor the priest is to blame and which lies entirely outside the control of both.

What has been said, holds *per se,* as every one must admit. There are, however, authors who grant that *per accidens* it may be lawful to administer the sacraments to dying non-Catholics on the presumption of good faith and some at least implied sufficient intention.[1] While that opinion is open to many objections, nevertheless in view of it one could not condemn a Catholic priest who baptized the woman situated in the circumstances described above, provided one other very important condition is fulfilled, namely, that there be no scandal. Even granted that no animosity will be aroused by such a course, the danger of scandal in complying with the wishes of a person situated as the woman is in the present case may be very great. Indifference in matters of the true faith and the true Church is very rampant, and baptism conferred in such a case may confirm both Catholics and non-Catholics in this indifference. It may be objected that a word of instruction will remove any false impression in that regard. Granted that those present may correctly understand the situation—a point open to dispute on account of the sometimes crass ignorance of Catholics in such matters and of the easy-going ways in matters religious on the part of non-Catholics—others who are absent are almost certain to learn the facts without the explanation. Then that course may very easily confirm non-Catholics in the wrong notion that it matters little what one believes or to which church one belongs and lead weaker Catholics one step nearer to such baneful indifference.

[1] Cf. James Ignatius King, *The Administration of the Sacraments to Dying Non-Catholics,* Washington, 1924.

BAPTISM OF A "CONVERT" LACKING FAITH.

Qu. In order to please Mary, his betrothed, who refused to marry him unless he should become a Catholic, John without faith in the Church or in the sacrament went through the ceremony of Baptism, deceiving the priest who married the couple. John did not go to confession. Later he fell into grave sins. Touched by a mission sermon and overcome by shame and remorse, he began to pray and received the gift of faith.

1. Did he have to be baptized again?
2. Was the marriage between John and Mary valid?
3. Was John bound to submit his sins to the keys?

Resp. 1. Faith and contrition are necessary dispositions for the *worthy* reception of baptism by an adult. But neither is necessary for its *valid* reception. Therefore John's baptism may have been valid. The absence of faith, however, especially in a case such as is under discussion, may justly raise the question whether John's reception of baptism was not at most merely external and without real intention to receive what the Church dispenses. Perhaps he himself will scarcely be able to say certainly what his intention was. Unless he can clear the matter up completely, the baptism ought to be considered doubtful and therefore he ought to be rebaptized conditionally.

If, as it appears from the present case, that lack of faith and probable lack of intention are secret, the conditional baptism could be conferred privately. For this, however, the permission of the local Ordinary would have to be obtained (Canon 759 § 2), unless it could not be asked without danger of violating the seal of confession.

2. The validity of the marriage between John and Mary after the former's baptism in the frame of mind described above can be called into question (a) if John's baptism was invalid, on account of disparity of cult, as the case seems to indicate; (b) if his deception invalidated Mary's consent, because he did not fulfill the condition she had placed, i.e. that she would not marry him unless he became Catholic. Since, however, the details submitted do not permit of a certain reply, the marriage must be considered probably valid and presumed valid.

While it is not strictly necessary that such a probably valid marriage be convalidated, it is nevertheless advisable to do so.

How will the priest proceed? The circumstances mentioned are too scant to permit of any simple solution.

(a) If the doubt concerning the validity is publicly known, John and Mary should renew their consent in the presence of a duly authorized priest and two witnesses.

(b) If the doubt concerning the validity of their marriage is occult, then it will suffice that the consent be renewed secretly without any witnesses: (α) by both, if both are aware of the doubt; (β) by John only, if he is aware of the doubt but Mary is in entire good faith.

(c) It may be doubted whether either John or Mary has any suspicion as to the doubtful validity of their marriage. In this case a *sanatio in radice* should be obtained from the Sacred Penitentiary. If the *sanatio in radice* is obtained from the Sacred Penitentiary for the *forum internum extra-sacramentale,* after the rescript is properly executed, it should be preserved with the correct names of the parties in the secret archives of the episcopal curia (Canon 1047).

3. The question whether John is obliged to submit the sins he committed after his reception into the Church can be answered only with several distinctions.

(a) If his baptism in the Catholic Church was *certainly valid,* he will have to confess his *unworthy* reception of baptism and marriage; his heresy or infidelity, and all the other sins he has committed since his baptism. Furthermore, provided the conditions for incurring the excommunication on account of heresy are verified, he must be absolved from that reserved censure (Canon 2314).

(b) If his baptism in the Catholic Church was *certainly invalid,* another distinction will be necessary:

(α) If he had never before been baptized, then with his baptism, which must now be conferred absolutely, he will be freed from all the sins of his whole life and cannot validly be absolved from them, since they are not *materia confessionis.*

(β) If previous to his reception into the Catholic Church he had been doubtfully baptized in some sect, then he must abjure his heresy and be absolved from censure, he must be conditionally baptized, and confess all his

sins since his first doubtful baptism and be conditionally absolved.[1]

(c) If his baptism in the Catholic Church is *doubtful:*

(α) If he had previously already been doubtfully baptized in some non-Catholic sect, then he would have to confess the sins he committed since his first doubtful baptism, since he did not confess at the time of his first reception into the Catholic Church.

(β) If he had never previously been even doubtfully baptized, then he probably is not obliged to confess the sins he committed since his first doubtful baptism in the Catholic Church.[2]

RE-APPOINTMENT OF RELIGIOUS SUPERIORS.

Qu. Are the major superiors of religious institutes obeying the law of the Church in keeping local superiors in office for some fifteen or twenty or more years by simply changing them, after the expiration of a double term of six years, from one house to another as superiors? Does canon law not demand an intermission of at least one year between appointments as superior, or does it permit this continual holding of local superiors in position by a mere interchange of community?

Have not the inferiors of an institute in which such a practice prevails the obligation or at least the right to inform the Apostolic Delegate of the existence of such a condition—especially since some of these local superiors are anything but model religious, violating every day one or more regulations laid down in the rule and constitutions which have received the approval of the Holy See and must be sacred to all the members of the order, in particular to the superiors?

Resp. According to Canon 505 the minor local superiors may, if the constitutions of a religious institute expressly allow it, be reäppointed to a second immediately successive term of three years in the same house. That Canon further explicitly

[1] Cf. S. C. S. Off., 20 July, 1859; Canon 2314.

[2] Cf. Sabetti-Barrett, *Compendium Theologiae Moralis,* 18. ed. [New York: Pustet, 1919], n. 725 quaer. 3. Still this is not exactly the case that Sabetti seems to have in mind and it might be safer to urge John to make a complete confession, beginning with his unworthy reception of baptism and absolving him from censure *ad cautelam* and conditionally from his sins.

forbids the reäppointment of the same local superior for a third immediately successive term in the same house. But beyond this the common law of the Church laid down in the Code does not contain either explicitly or implicitly any further legislation as to what our inquirer might call "perpetual" superiors. The practice of which he complains is not contrary to the Code and is quite common in many institutes. And, provided the constitutions of the particular institute do not ordain otherwise,[1] no charge of violating the law can be raised.[2]

After the expiration of one term of three years or, if the constitutions expressly permit, after the completion of two successive terms of three years each in the same house, it is necessary that some time intervene before the same person can be reäppointed to that position, the same house. The Code does not determine the length of that interval. Some authors hold that a very brief time would suffice. Probably the best solution of this point will be found in the constitutions of the respective institute.[3]

Opinions might differ as to the expediency of reäppointing the same persons as superiors for successive terms in different houses. But the practice is not contrary to the Code. It is left entirely to the prudence of the higher superiors in how far they should follow such a practice. Hence this alone would not constitute a reasonable basis for complaint. If certain religious who for one reason or another may have proved themselves unfit to be superiors, are nevertheless instituted as superiors, it is not so much Canon 505 that is violated as rather another principle of selecting only model and otherwise competent religious for such an office.[4] If therefore provincial superiors install unfit minor local superiors,

[1] That "guardians" in the Order of Friars Minor can be reëlected for a third successive term in the same "convent" or for a fourth in another, or others, permission of the Holy See is necessary.—*Gen. Const.* (1922), n. 403; cf. Pius X, motu proprio "Quo magis", 23 October, 1911, n. VI—*Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, III (1911), 560.

[2] Jansen, *Ordensrecht*, 2. ed., Paderborn, 1920, p. 260-261; Schäfer, *De Religiosis*, Münster i. W., 1927, n. 118-120; Fanfani, *De Iure Religiosorum*, 2. ed., Turin, 1925, p. 62; *Commentarium pro Religiosis*, VII (1926), 382-389.

[3] Thus in the Order of Friars Minor, for guardians this interval is specified as three years from one provincial chapter to another. *Gen. Const.*, n. 403-404.

[4] Cf. Canon 506, § 1, and Canon 177, § 2.

the religious have the right and obligation to take up the matter with the general superior. If he, too, fails in this respect, then the case should be presented to the Sacred Congregation of Religious, if the institute has pontifical approval at least in the form of the *decretum laudis;* otherwise to the local Ordinary. The Apostolic Delegate, so far as his powers are made public, does not enjoy any jurisdiction in such matters. Therefore it would serve no purpose to place the matter before him, unless it were meant to invoke his admonition to the higher superiors or to request him to forward the petition to the Sacred Congregation of Religious.

A CATHOLIC ON THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF Y. M. C. A.

Qu. A prominent Catholic layman is elected and accepts membership on the local board of directors of the Y. M. C. A. In exercising the duties of such office, is he acting in accord with the canons?

Resp. To a great extent the solution of this question will depend upon the nature of the particular board of directors. If its sphere is limited to the social and athletic activities of the local Y. M. C. A., then it could perhaps be tolerated that a Catholic accept such an office. Tolerated rather than permitted, for the reason that at best the social and athletic activities of the Y. M. C. A., even though perhaps not intended for that exclusive purpose, do too easily lead Catholic members to some participation in its religious work; and the presence of a Catholic on the local board of directors of the Y. M. C. A.'s social and athletic activities will influence his co-religionists in that regard.

If the particular board of directors in question is in charge of all the activities of the Association, including its religious work, for instance, divine service, Bible classes, etc., then it could not even be tolerated that a Catholic act on it; for even though he have no reason to fear for his own faith, he is promoting the spread of heresy and, if he does so freely and knowingly, he becomes suspected of heresy (Canon 2316). The Y. M. C. A., it is true, claims to be non-sectarian, but that extends only to the various shades of Protestantism; furthermore, the Association is to-day committed to an indifferentism

that is destructive of the Catholic faith, as is pointed out in the letter of the Holy Office referred to below.

Is there not reason to surmise that a "prominent" Catholic layman is elected to the local board of directors for the purpose of blinding unwary Catholics to the real situation and of employing him as a bait to catch them? In view of the severe criticism of the Y. M. C. A. by the Holy Office[1] it ill befits a "prominent Catholic layman" to accept an office that must deceive his fellow-Catholics and influence them to join a society that is a standing menace to their faith.

DISTRIBUTING HOLY COMMUNION IN INFIRMARY.

Qu. When Holy Communion is to be given to more than one patient in each of two or more rooms—

1. ought not the *plural* form of the "Misereatur . . . Indulgentiam" be used in each room?

2. would it not be sufficient to say only *once* the "Misereatur . . . Indulgentiam, Ecce Agnus Dei . . . Domine, non sum . . . " in each of the rooms?

Resp. The "Instructio de Communione plurium infirmorum", issued 9 January, 1929, by the Sacred Congregation of Rites (*A.A.S.*, p. 43), considers only the case of several sick people who each occupies *a separate room* in the same house or hospital, as appears from the text itself: "Quando sacra Communio distribuitur *pluribus infirmis,* qui in eadem domo, vel in eodem hospitali, sed *in distinctis cubiculis degant* . . ." In this case only should the priest say in the singular to the only occupant of a single room: "Misereatur *tui*" and "Indulgentiam . . peccatorum *tuorum* tribuat *tibi* . . ." On the contrary, if in the same room several persons are to receive Holy Communion, these prayers should be put in the plural.

Evidently it is enough to say only once the "Misereatur . . .", "Indulgentiam . . .", "Ecce Agnus Dei . . .", "Domine, non sum . . ." in each room. The decree aims at making the ceremony simpler and shorter, and not at complicating it.

[1] Letter of 5 November, 1920—ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, LXIV (1921), 269-272. Cf. also the article "The Bishops and the Y. M. C. A.", *ibidem,* pp. 242-249.

COMMUNION WITHOUT CONFESSION.

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

In the August number of the REVIEW, "Episcopus" speaks a word of caution against the freedom of certain confessors in admitting young folk to frequent and even daily Communion. He pleads for a lively sense of the reverence and dignity due to the Blessed Sacrament. In joining forces with him in this exhortation, I am not unmindful of Statute No. 9 of the memorable Decree on Daily Communion issued by the Sacred Congregation of the Council, under the illustrious Pope Pius X, on 20 December, 1905. This statute, which is given on page 80 of the July 1906 number of this REVIEW, forbids "any contentious argument about the dispositions for frequent and daily Communion".

The venerable founder of this REVIEW, commenting on the decree in the number just mentioned (p. 66), pointed out the positive duty of the parish clergy on this subject, saying: "If we are to promote the reception of daily Communion at the daily Mass, it follows that the faithful are to be provided with the means to do so. This implies, especially for churches in rural districts, assiduous attention to the celebration of daily Mass. In cities the number of Masses celebrated each day should correspond with the missionary needs of the parish. The law of canonical residence thus receives for many places new enforcement. Next to this, the people must be free to go to confession oftener and at times when it has not been customary to hear confessions. In this way the zeal of the parochial clergy is tested, and the fact that the results of daily attendance at the parish Mass and the number of daily communicants are to be made a distinct feature of the diocesan report made regularly by the Ordinary to the Holy See, shows the ultimate intention which underlies the decree as formulated. The policy of the Holy Father is not merely to legislate, but to direct as much as possible the zeal of the bishop upon whom depends supervision of the observance by which the law is made effective."

ALIUS EPISCOPUS.

PRACTICAL PREACHING ON CONTRACEPTION.

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

The priests on the firing-line must be grateful for the articles on "Birth Control: The Perverted Faculty Argument". Theorizing on the precise point of the sin of contraception lays the steps for practical application of the catechetical definition on the subject—a sin is the deliberate and wilful transgression of God's law.

But preaching on it, as well as spiritual direction, must be practical. It must be effective, arousing conscience, so as to deter one from committing the wrong. Of course without the grace of God—"praeveniens, efficax, concomitans, et subsequens"—mere preaching will not convince. What is meant here is the ordinary process of bringing about, in this matter of growing seriousness, a purposeful attitude among the faithful to stem the sweeping tide of perverted faculty practice. Since the faithful live and move among non-Christians and Christians of all types, they hear their excuses —if indeed they think any are necessary, whether economic, hygienic, or social—to make the practice appear most reasonable. If the only barrier to common use is that of sin, the sin must be so strong an antidote that the fear of God will keep the faithful from indulging in this heinous sin. The preaching should give them that fear. They read and hear much about birth-control. It is hard to see why they should be barred from the practice, when all the world takes it for granted, unless the motive comes from and goes to the beyond. Preaching must afford the motive. The difficulty is the greater where one of the parents is a non-Catholic. Like Job's reply to Sophar: "The simplicity of the just man is laughed to scorn" (Job 12:4) so too the faithful in these days of naturalism can expect no less. Courage is the virtue most needed.

The danger of such preaching, however, is variously weighed by competent authorities. The method and occasion seem to be the main stumbling-blocks. Some are of the opinion that it "should not as much as be mentioned". But it must somehow be brought home. Prevention in this matter is undoubtedly worth a pound of cure; whereas the cure is possible only by special grace.

The appeal of course is emphatically supernatural. Natural motives may prop up the incentive; but in the final analysis the conviction that will bring about abstention or reform is born of the fear of the Lord. The law of God is the urgent motive.

There begins the trouble. Are there no palliatives? The learned start the search. Mortal and venial sins are ransacked in definition. Frail human nature torn by concupiscence finds its voice. Social and economic conditions cry for sedatives. Throughout the argument, in creep sex appetites; and these are natural. Presently some one or another throws out a suggestion, which grows into a reason, and the excuse is ready at hand. Some teacher in a seminary ventures an opinion which takes on movement like a wave. Spiritual direction, if not preaching, on contraception spreads the news. And one wonders how it all came about. The foolish-wise in his retired experience perhaps finds cause to prompt him in directing a penitent, by way of exception. In such case superhuman efforts are baffled in the repair of the disorder. Whether the kernel of the sin is intrinsic or extrinsic or pragmatic, contraception is a mortal sin. It is not governed by such a law as prohibits women from appearing in church without head covering; but by divine law, natural and supernatural. There is here no minor key. It is not a mere regulation to conserve the common good: it goes to the very root of life. By God's ordinance that life is to be propagated in wedlock.

How practically to preach it, is of great concern. When and to whom Christian doctrine on this subject should be inculcated, is of importance not only to the priest, but to the catechist in schools, academies, colleges, and universities. In fact the higher the school the greater the need. The simple and plain people are more pliable. Biology, psychology and accompanying analysis—these make the task more difficult.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW would do a great service to priests on the firing-line by furnishing the information.

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Criticisms and Notes

THE REIGN OF CHRIST: The Immortal King of Ages. By the Rev. Joseph Husslein, S.J. P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York. Pp. 265.

In his Encyclical on the Feast of Christ the King our Holy Father, Pius XI, writes: "We desire that it should be your special task, Venerable Brothers, to see to it that a course of sermons is preached every year on fixed days in every parish for the celebration of this feast so that the faithful, instructed fully in the nature, meaning and importance of the feast, shall be brought to lead lives altogether worthy of those who claim to be loving and faithful subjects of the Divine King." The present volume is a prompt response to the wish of the Holy Father: not that the work is a book of sermons, but because it might be read with equal advantage by cleric and layman alike. While the matter has been presented in a practical and rather popular manner, it is at the same time scholarly, as a glance at the copious Biblical references incorporated in the text will show. The book is all the more acceptable because it is based on and follows closely the two Encyclicals (*Quas Primas* and *Miserentissimus Redemptor*) of Pius XI dealing with the Feast of Christ the King and the Reparation due to the Sacred Heart. In the words of the author himself the volume is a "graphic and practical development of the vital thoughts contained in the great Encyclicals dealing with the Universal Sovereignty of Christ the King." Incidentally, the translations of thes two Encyclicals, as issued by the National Catholic Welfare Conference, form a valuable appendix to the book, as one is glad to reread the Encyclicals after having read what Father Husslein has to say on the reign of Christ. His enthusiasm is contagious. The two Chapters, "The Queen Mother" and "The Great Patron", though good, might have been omitted without detriment to the subject. The volume itself is well made up and contains about seven or eight prints.

THEOLOGIA DE ECCLESIA. Michael d'Herbigny, S.J. 2 Vols. 3rd edition. Paris: G. Beauchesne. 1928. Pp. 331 and 369.

This is unquestionably the finest treatise on the Church published in modern times and one that so far surpasses all the other treatises as to honor them by comparison. Bishop d'Herbigny has divided his work into two volumes, the first treating of the Primitive Institution of the Church: *De Deo Universos evocante ad sui regni vitam,* and the second the Church to-day: *De Deo Catholicam ecclesiam organice vivificante.*

The merits of this work are threefold. First, it is noteworthy for its method. The learned author in writing his treatise apparently did not accept the outline of the Church tract given by other theologians as final and complete. Thanks to a happy combination of the historical and the psychological method he initiates us into the Church tract by an elaboration of the Judaic concept of the Kingdom of God. In the Old Testament, he finds an actual compact between God and the chosen people and the promise of a new compact between God and a rejuvenated and reborn people. The next section of the work treats of this new Kingdom of God in actual operation, and here drawing principally on the Acts and the Epistles shows how the Apostles appealed to the ancient promises as a confirmation of the Kingdom of God that they were preaching to men. He then argues that it was not Greek influence, not disappointed Apostles, not a blind movement of the spirits of men, but our Saviour Jesus Christ who immediately instituted this new Kingdom, separated it from the synagogue, and from the yoke of the Mosaic Law, and revealed to men the mysteries of His Father in Heaven.

A second merit of this work is its thoroughness and genuinely scientific character. In the second volume, for example, when the author discusses the sects of the present day, the Anglican Question, and the Russian Question with which he has so long familiarized himself, there is such an abundance of first-hand information, such a wide acquaintance with the whole field of literature, and such an apt application of the four marks of the Church to opposing sects as to leave no doubt in the minds of readers that if this work is to be surpassed in our generation it will have to be done by the Right Rev. Michael d'Herbigny himself.

Besides its excellent method and highly scientific character this work has still another quality which commends itself and which is more important than all the others—it presents the Church not merely as an institution but as a Life, the Life of God amongst men. Many of our manuals on *De Ecclesia* leave in the minds of students, perhaps quite unintentionally, the impression that Jesus Christ left a Church *after* Him, instead of emphasizing the fact that Christ lives in the Church. Speaking of the Church as the Mystical Body of Christ, he writes: "*Vi ergo nominis significatur non invisibilitas corporis seu ecclesiae, sed eminentia supernaturalis principii unientis et vificativi quo Ecclesia simpliciter dicitur et est Christus, corpus et plentitido eius. Inde etiam illustratur theandrismus ecclesiasticae societatis.* The notes, characteristics and attributes of the Church are all developed from this organic point of view, and the impression the reader takes away from it, is that the Church is to be described in terms of life and in particular the life of the Incarnate One who

did not exhaust Himself in the Incarnation and whose *Unio Personalis* in the Incarnation is the prelude to the *Unio Mystica* in the Church and the souls of men. The Visibility of the Church leads naturally to the Church as the Body of Christ; the social union of the members of this Body under a head is but another way of treating the hierarchy; the internal bond which makes the members one and which constitutes its internal life is the soul; in a word, "Ecclesia est ipsum Corpus Christi eiusque pleroma, totus Christus in mensuram aetatis plenitudinis mystice crescens: quem caro et sanguis revelat."

For the sake of greater apostolic spirit in our Christian life which will come through a more profound understanding of the Church, as that which Bossuet called the "prolongation of the Incarnation", and finally for the purposes of high scholarship in our seminaries, one trusts that this masterly treatise of Bishop d'Herbigny will become, as it deserves, not only the text book, but the inspiration of seminaries and the thumbed collateral reading of our clergy.

A HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN CHINA. By Kenneth Scott Latourette, D. Willis James, Professor of Missions and Oriental History in Yale University. New York. The Macmillan Company. 1929. Pp. xii — 930.

While the Catholic Church has been engaged in missionary activity in China since the end of the thirteenth century when John of Monte Corvino arrived in Peking—that is to say, sporadically, and at times for very long and successful intervals, even continuously during the last one hundred and fifty years—Prof. Latourette speaks only the truth when he opens his excellent and all but exhaustive Bibliography to his recent great work with the statement that, "since Huc's well-known work, in its English title *Christianity in China, Tartary, and Thibet*, no general history of Christian missions in China has appeared." This seems singular indeed, and to the average person interested in foreign missions almost unbelievable on first thought; yet it is true. We have many completed histories, more or less excellent, usually interesting, yet not always very reliable and scarcely ever very scientific in presentation, of different periods, of work in different sections of the country, or of the labors of particular Orders or societies; but there is no work extant giving a comprehensive survey of Catholic missionary endeavor down through the centuries, beginning with John of Monte Corvino, on to the Jesuit Fathers, Ricci, Schall and Verbiest, and the coming of the Dominicans and Franciscans, down to the present day when the work has become most intensive and expansive. It is worth while to

dwell on this fact; for, while it is to be hoped that there is, somewhere, a Catholic historian at work on such a book, it remains for us to realize that, to-day, Prof. Latourette's authoritative volume stands alone in its field. And Catholics have the best of cause to be thankful that such a work at such a time has made its appearance in a form so commendable and generally acceptable, I should say, to both Catholic and Protestant readers. An objective and mainly sympathetic point of view has been taken throughout, with a decidedly praiseworthy and largely successful effort to deal impartially with both Catholic and Protestant missionary efforts, treating with rich liberality and almost exclusive attention to Catholic missionary efforts of the early days, and always and everywhere endeavoring to keep the balance and proportion of value and extent of effort clear as between labors of various Christian bodies. It is not that we should feel like declaring that everything therein contained appears to be, from the standpoint of a Catholic, absolutely correct and acceptable; but rather that we consider it little short of marvelous that a historian of Protestant convictions should have been so able to imbue himself with the spirit of our faith as to render, usually, an entirely impartial and worthy account of work accomplished, efforts made, and of evident hopes for the future.

But Prof. Latourette was in very special ways well qualified to undertake this his self-assigned task. In the first place, he has been on the field as a missionary; and subsequently, he made a special and lengthy tour of investigation of mission fields in China, covering the ground completely and visiting both Catholic and Protestant missions, studying everywhere the work as intensively and critically as conditions permitted. And secondly, Prof. Latourette has moved freely among Catholics and Protestants alike in making his investigations and pursuing his researches. The Bibliography at the end of his book shows the tremendous range of his familiar studies, while the body of the work gives a splendid evidence of the excellent use to which his knowledge has been put. Moreover, the author has a world-wide reputation for his eminent fair-mindedness, openness to truth, and a disposition to present historical data in an unbiased manner. In fact, growing acquaintance with the professor inevitably leads a Catholic to feel that, had we a truly appreciable following of Protestant scholars of this stamp engaged in various researches into the Catholic mind, we might indeed warrantably look for a speedy and friendly *rapprochement* among Catholics and Protestants that would summarily do away with a host of misunderstandings and failures in mutual appreciation.

In the third instance we must cordially recommend this work because the vast amount of material is brought together in a thoroughly

scientific manner, accompanied with copious notes and adequate references throughout. The method of treatment one finds so acceptable as to hope that the coming Catholic historian will frame his work along similar outlines. Even where the Catholic must perforce differ in certain points of exposition, the very different point of view, being presented with cogent reasoning and frankest sincerity throughout, becomes extremely helpful and all but invaluable, from the Catholic side, in getting at the real mind and heart of the earnest Protestant mission worker. As giving the true note and tone of the entire work, we should like to recommend before all else a reading of the concluding chapter of the book, entitled "Summary and Conclusion," wherein the author attempts to offer results in eleven contrasting presentations of Catholic and Protestant achievements. This chapter has already been used with great success in the class-room with scholastics, and has been received with keenest interest. No student of mission work in China, and in fact no missionary laboring in China or expecting to go out for work there, should fail to make himself thoroughly acquainted with this book, from cover to cover. It will supply an admirable aid toward carrying on the blessed missionary efforts with fuller competency and a wider and immeasurably more sympathetic outlook.

PRAELECTIONES E THEOLOGIA NATURALI. John R. Loinaz, S.J. 1929. Pp. 424. Marius E. Marietti, Turin.

This work represents the germination and maturation of a course on Natural Theology given by Father Loinaz in the Gregorianum in Rome from 1907 to 1919. Its contents are those common to manuals on the subject: the existence of God, the attributes of God, Divine Concursus and Providence, though they are treated at much greater length than in ordinary text books. There is hardly a delicate point in the whole realm of Theodicy, or a distinction known to the mind of a Scholastic, that does not come in for some treatment in the course of this book. The inspiration for the most part has been the writings of St. Thomas: the author giving the five ways of proving the existence of God as presented by the Angelic Doctor in the *Summa*, but there is more space given to answering objections to the proofs than to their elaboration.

The author avows in his Preface that there is nothing new about his method—an admission which should be regretted. The whole treatment of the sublime subject of God reminds one of the statement which Professor James once made against Scholastic manuals: in which he compared them to "logical chopping-machines". This manual will whet a student in the use of distinction, but it will

do little to convince the unbeliever. The following is typical of the method: on page 17 the author answers the objection that the principle of sufficient reason is the first principle known, and the first truth known, and the existence of God is implied in the knowledge of that principle. His answer runs: "R.N.m.s.—ad ejus prob. C.M.——D.m. Est re vera Deus, C. Cognoscitur a nobis esse debere Deum, Sd. immediate ante discursum, N. Post discursum a posteriori, C.m.——Dist. pariter cons. i. e. statim evidens est dari aliquid, quod reipsa Deus est, C. quod cognoscitur esse Deum, N.vel Sd., post discursum et a posteriori, C. ante discursum et a priori, N. conseq."

It is just such skeleton presentations as this which betray how far we have gotten away from the simple responses of the Angelic Doctor and reveal why Scholasticism has made such meager inroads into the affections and sympathies of modern philosophers.

THE WESTMINSTER VERSION OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURES. A New Translation from the Original Greek and Hebrew Texts. The New Testament, Vol. I, Part I: The Gospel according to St. Matthew. Longmans, Green & Co., London. 1928.

With all due respect for the venerable Douay version, the all too slavish translation of the Vulgate, let us nourish the hope that the Westminster Version, published by the English Jesuits, may make such speedy progress that we may soon have an English Catholic version of the Bible based on the original. The present volume contains the Gospel of St. Matthew by the Very Rev. Joseph Dean. A thorough introduction (by Father Lattey) deals with the authorship and composition of the Gospel, the testimony of Irenæus and Papias, the characteristics of the Gospel, the Jewish traits in the Gospel, and the "Gospel of the Childhood". For the testimony of Irenæus Don Chapman's explanation is rightly accepted: that the genitive absolute does not necessarily postulate a chronological interpretation. That Papias called St. Matthew's Gospel "logia" = "oracles" is due to the fact that he "regarded it as inspired Scripture" (xvii). The translation is accompanied with excellent notes.

An appendix (also from the pen of Father Lattey) treats the Synoptic problem under the headline, "The Place of Memory in the Composition of the Synoptic Gospels", and comes to the conclusion: "Memory explains both the likenesses and the differences in the Synoptic Gospels, but the hypothesis of documents does not sufficiently explain the differences, such as we have them in the concrete" (p. 150). It may be said in this relation: Neither does the

hypothesis of "memory" alone sufficiently explain the astonishing similarities in the smallest details for lengthy passages. The Westminster Version should be in every priest's library.

DE CHRISTI ECCLESIA. P. Joseph de Guibert, S.J. Rome, 1928. Pp. 346. Gregorian University, Rome.

In the introduction to this work the author clearly states that it is not his purpose to write a complete and thoroughgoing treatise on the Church, but merely to offer a short outline suitable to those attending theological courses on that subject. To this end he includes at the end of every thesis a fairly well documented bibliography on the points discussed. Father Guibert has unquestionably been much influenced by d'Herbigny's work on the Church, which means that as a manual it surpasses those manuals which have not undergone that influence.

The schematization or the abbreviation of the Church tract consists in the diminution of the matter that is contained in each thesis rather than in the diminution of the theses themselves. There are, for example, 44 theses in this brief treatise, whereas there are only 40 in the two-volume work of d'Herbigny. If clarity grows in direct proportion with reduction to unity, it is difficult to see what particular advantages are offered by this manual. Granting that it is an excellent work of its kind, this reviewer cannot see why a "breve schema" such as this should be put into the hands of theological students rather than the classical work of d'Herbigny.

A HANDBOOK OF POPULAR INSTRUCTION. By the Rev. John E. Pichler. Adapted by Isabel Garahan, B.A. St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. Catholic Faith and Practice. Pp. xiv + 458.

Books like the present handbook of popular instructions are still timely and will serve various useful purposes. Not so very long ago "Goffine" rendered good service in Catholic homes, where it was extensively used as a book of devout instruction on the Sunday evenings of Lent and Advent or even throughout the entire year. Pichler's work might profitably be employed in the same manner today. Doctrine must now be administered in small but potent doses. The busy age of the short story also calls for the short sermon and the short instruction. But to be serviceable, a book of instruction must be logical and orderly in the arrangement of its matter. The book under review is recommendable in this regard. Moreover it will appeal to both young and old, for its diction is

clear and simple, and practical applications are made in an interesting anecdote or story appended to each chapter.

One might desire a better authentication of some of the anecdotes contained in the book, but this, of course, is not a serious defect in a popular manual of its kind. The catechist, too, will find the work a modest promptuary for his instructions to the children. And the busy pastor, who is loath to draw upon the volume of ready-made sermons, might consult it with advantage. Its chapters—in whole or in part—could easily be developed into the discourses for the early Masses on Sundays, when the "talk" must be short, but clear and comprehensive. Finally, the work will prove valuable apologetically to the layman who desires to give to those not of the faith a brief account of any doctrinal point of his religion. It was thoughtful, therefore, of the adapter to compile the alphabetical index, which facilitates consultation and makes the book a sort of ready reference dictionary of Catholic doctrine. In the rural districts where attendance at Mass is not frequent and where the duty of instructing the children in their religion devolves chiefly on the parents, a book such as Pichler's may prove to be a godsend. The traditional division of matter is observed: I. What God has revealed to us; II. What God demands of us; III. How we are sanctified by the Sacraments; IV. How we should pray.

ARROWS OF DESIRE. By James M. Hayes. P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York. 1928. Pp. xi—73.

POEMS. By Gerald W. E. Dunne. Toledo Artcraft Co., Toledo. 1928. Pp. 93.

CATHOLIC INFLUENCE ON LONGFELLOW. By R. P. Hickey, S.M., Ph.D. Maryhurst Normal Press, Kirkwood, Mo. 1928. Pp. 334.

A wise old priest used to advise his younger brethren to provide against the inevitable loneliness of their high calling by cultivating in preference to any other hobby a love of gardening. "Be turning the earth," he would say. It is conceivable that the mechanical part of gardening would offer no lure to some priests, whose minds are bent on study or fascinated by the printed word. The outlet for their energies and the satisfaction of their craving for expression may thus account for the number of priests who have published volumes of verse or critical studies of poets. Three such are listed above.

Father Hayes includes in his recent volume a few poems published a decade of years ago in *The Grave of Dreams.* Many

readers will be glad to meet again the charming "Old Nuns" and to see the eight lines that enshrine "The Nuns of Heaven," remembering that Father Hayes was for years the dean of Sisters College and won all hearts by his tact and kindness. His own heart is revealed in his poems—well-chosen themes wrought out in smooth and beautiful metres, holy thoughts on nature and human life, on the mysteries, joys, sorrows, and compensations which are the secrets of God our Father.

Father Dunne wears his rue with a difference. From the Dedication to the last page of his dainty volume one is struck by his love for his mother and must respond sympathetically. But the majority of the themes are objective and they touch high levels of contemplation. Great variety marks the forms of line and stanza, suiting movement to thought. The work is thoroughly that of a man and a priest.

This last sentence applies with equal justice to Father Hickey's very different book. Those of us who enjoyed our reading of Longfellow in our schooldays—and which of us did not?—will marvel how we did it with so scant a supply of the knowledge to be obtained from these three hundred-odd pages of learned comment made after years of conscientious research in American, English, French, Spanish, Italian, and Germanic sources that influenced Longfellow's life and work. One conclusion can be drawn from Father Hickey's painstaking labor: no Catholic teacher should be without this book in her classes of American literature. No senior grade in high school should be deprived of a chance to refer to it frequently, if it be not used as text book; for it will supplement efficiently all his readings in American and European literature.

Two sentences may be quoted as embodying the final results of Father Hickey's sympathetic study of the chief American poet: "While the poet was greatly attracted by the beauties of Catholicism, he never lost sight of the fact that his *reading* public was overwhelmingly Protestant. . . . The truths, the beauties, and the 'endless deeds of charity' [of the Catholic Church] worked upon his sentimental nature, but did not strike deep roots into his reason."

WE BELIEVE IN IMMORTALITY. Edited by Sydney Strong. Affirmations of One Hundred Prominent Men and Women in All Walks of Life. Coward-McCann: New York. Pp. 193.

This volume contains, as indicated, personal expressions concerning immortality. Something of the same kind has been done in a number of metropolitan newspapers in the United States and England. The editor evidently intended to bring out statements rather

than arguments, except in so far as reasons make personal appeal. An attempt to tabulate the considerations set forth by the contributors as the basis of their belief in immortality brings a number of points to attention. Seventeen traced their attitudes to belief in the persistence of personality. Nineteen rested their position on the personality and teaching of Christ. Sixteen found belief in immortality the outcome of their understanding of history, philosophy and moral ideals. Seven inferred it from the teaching of the sciences and the evidences of law and purpose in the world. Six rested their attitude upon the absolute human need of believing in immortality. One has been brought to his conviction by the results of psychical research, while three are convinced by the testimony of great thinkers and leaders. The following statement was submitted to the collection of views by the Rev. Dr. John A. Ryan:

> "My reason demonstrates these propositions: The human soul is a spiritual and indivisible substance; therefore, it is incorruptible; therefore, it could cease to exist only through annihilation by its Creator—a contingency which is more than improbable. History assures me that Jesus Christ rose from the dead, demonstrating that His soul did not perish when separated from His body. The resurrection proves that Christ was God. Therefore, He spoke with knowledge and with truth when He declared that the souls of men live after death. Hence my belief in immortality is not wishful faith or truth. Fundamentally it is intellectual."

Literary Chat

All people accustomed to daily meditation and periodical retreats occasionally take the subject "The Love of God". Though on first sight this subject seems very general, it is nevertheless very rich in detail, so that a frequent recurring to it during the year is almost inevitable. To explore all the endless details and write a book of 226 pages on *The Love of God* is no mean task, yet Rev. Father Nicholas Grou, S.J., has accomplished just this. The work is arranged for an eight-day retreat of three meditations and one consideration each, in which he treats the subject from almost every angle imaginable. Thus he outlines the nature of the love of God, and indicates the way of making acts of love. The command to love God, and the practice of the presence of God in order to facilitate the observance of this command is treated on the second day. Then follow the motives for loving God; such as His Fatherhood and the gift of His Divine Son, together with a consideration of the countless benefits of God. Fear, hope and love are sure ways of complying with this command, and the thought of heaven urges us on to love God. As in all other spiritual affairs, there can be no greater model of divine love than Christ, the God-man. Holy Communion cements this love into a concrete means. According to Fr. Grou, true love shows itself in its extent, in its strength, its effect on our thoughts,

desires and actions: and will be productive of much good by frequently renewing the good intention. In the meditation for the seventh day Fr. Grou lays down rules for those who are earnestly striving to love God with their whole heart, and the consideration is on interior mortification. If we conscientiously follow these rules we shall not find the practice of loving God a difficult task. He closes his retreat with a chapter on love of self.

Ethica (Gabriel Beauchesne, Paris), a posthumous work by Narcello Nivard, S.J., Professor of Ethics for twenty-five years in the Jesuit College of Jersey, gives evidence of extensive reading and mature thinking. The author, while following rather closely the treatment of Cathrein, makes a valuable personal contribution in his extended critical treatment of the ethical theories of Durkheim, Levy-Brühl, Fuillee, Guyer, etc. Bibliographies accompanying many of the chapters and theses also enhance greatly its value.

Littérature latine chrétienne, by G. Bardy (Vol. 23 in the Bibliothèque Catholique des Sciences Religieuses; Paris, Bloud et Gay; 1928; pp. 1-231), which is a companion to the author's *Littérature grecque chrétienne,* which appeared in the same series last year, should receive a warm welcome in this country. Through his masterly control of his subject, Professor Bardy has succeeded in giving a broad, well-balanced sketch of Latin Christian literature from the earliest times down through Isidore of Seville. The value of the work is not lessened by the fact that it is written in a charming style.

While we now have De Labriolle's imposing *Histoire de la Littérature Latine Chrétienne* in English dress, it is much to be desired that a short history of Latin Christian literature like the present little book, at once popular and abreast of the latest researches, should be done in English. Hence an English translation of Professor Bardy's work should certainly be made, if it can be arranged. We need just such a book to arouse interest and appreciation for the early Christian Latin literature in the wider circles of the Catholic reading public among whom the importance and value of this subject are too little realized.

H. L. Crosby and J. N. Schaeffer, in their *An Introduction to Greek,* and the publishers (Allyn and Bacon, Boston, 1928) have spared no labor to give us an excellent text book, and they have succeeded admirably. The essentials of the Greek language are presented in a clear, orderly fashion, all explanations being scrupulously worded in language the young student can understand. The exercises are well graded and the Greek selections for reading are especially to be commended for the interest and variety of their content. Thus we find the Greek poets, historians, philosophers—and the Gospels — represented in well-chosen passages. While the vocabulary is destined primarily to introduce the student to Xenophon, it has by no means been confined merely to the military side as is too often the case.

The most distinguishing feature of the book, without question, is the effort which it makes to stimulate interest in the Greek language through focusing the student's attention continually on the abiding contribution of Greece to our civilization. Thus in every lesson there is some allusion to the art, literature, philosophy, science or religion of the Greeks. All this is brought in incidentally but naturally, in connexion with the motto employed at the head of each lesson, the selection chosen for reading, the many excellent illustrations, the vocabulary, etc. As a result the student at the end of his first year of Greek, after such a panoramic view of Greek culture in all its aspects, should have an intelligent appreciation of the permanent place of Greece in the history of civilization.

The reviewer heartily recommends *An Introduction to Greek* to all teachers and students who desire an elementary text book in Greek that incorporates all that is best in modern pedagogical method. It is a melancholy fact that, on account of the deplorable state, or rather the non-existence, of Greek studies even in many of our Catholic secondary schools, such a splendid text book is destined to find so few readers.

The Lay Folk's Mass Book, published by the Catholic Truth Society of London, is a reprint, in fifteen tiny pages, of rhyming prayers used at the

chief parts of the Mass. The introduction tells us that the author is unknown, though his quaint wee book was popular in thirteenth-century England. Rhyming directions and instructions for devout assistance at Mass were sprinkled through the text; but these are not included in this reprint. The author prefaces his instructions with the following lines:

The worthiest thing, most of goodness,
In all this world, it is the Mass.
If a thousand clerks did nought else
(According as St. Jerome tells)
But told the virtues of Mass-singing
And the profit of Mass-hearing,
Yet should they never the fifth part,
For all their wit and all their art,
Tell the virtue, meeds, and pardon
To them that with devotion,
In cleanness and with good intent,
Do worship to this Sacrament.

In *God's Mother and Ours,* Sister Marie Paula seeks to present Mary, as the ideal of womanhood, in a way to appeal to all children of Mary, whether in religion or in the world. As the simple and natural story of Our Blessed Lady is unfolded, one catches practical suggestions for the profit of one's own soul. A thoughtful and engaging book (Benziger Brothers, New York).

The Rev. H. S. Spalding, S.J., between his serious medico-moral problems still spares time for a boy's story. His recent sojourn in the "Bad Lands" of South Dakota has given him the local color for *At the Gate of Stronghold,* just published by Benziger Brothers. He conducts the reader triumphantly into the West, under tent, with saddles for all in camp, with rattlesnakes and mountains and wolf-hunts and rodeos, and midnight adventures for the red-blooded boy who gets his thrills vicariously by way of the parish library. And with the thrills there is always that which is wholesome.

From P. J. Kenedy & Sons comes another prayer book by the industrious Dominican Fathers Callan and McHugh. This beautiful and readable little volume is entitled *Our Lady's Office,* and contains, besides the text of the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in Latin and in English, with copious good explanatory notes, the Office of the Dead, Commemoration of All the Faithful Departed, the Penitential Psalms, the Litany of the Saints, and the Litany of Loreto. The typographical dress and general format of the volume leave nothing to be desired.

The manual of prayers and meditation which Father Tilman Pesch, S.J., compiled for the use of German Catholics, is now published in English by the C. Wildermann Co. of New York, under the title of *The Catholic's Companion.* It differs from the older fashion in prayer books in that it contains more instructions on the foundations of faith, on doctrine and morals, on the Church and her institutions. In addition to maxims for life, it gives the standard prayers of the liturgy. It is a useful and presentable little manual.

Father David P. McAstocker, S.J., is out with a dainty little volume, entitled *Flash Lights* (The Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee). About two score one-page reflexions on such topics as Adversity, Charitable Judgments, Courtesy, Crutches, Money, Retreats, Silence is Golden, Time, Wreaths, and what-not, make up the little book. The thoughts are couched in attractive phrase, and are naturally and intimately Christian in spirit.

Time was when a book from a convent was a far rarer phenomenon than it is to-day. But it is fitting enough to have a volume from the pen of Sister James Stanislaus on *Manner and Good Manners,* which is a guide to correct social usage for Catholic schools and the home. If cleanliness is next to Godliness, gentility is near akin to sanctity; and a convent is the nursery and dispensary of both. The work gives directions how to comport oneself at home, in school, in the library, in church, in public, in introductions, in conversation, in correspondence, or in whatever average social circumstances one may be. This little form or etiquette manual is primarily for Catholics, and for boys and girls, but it may very well serve their elders too. (Benziger Brothers, New York.)

B. Herder Book Company have just issued another of Inez Specking's novels, *It's All Right*. The dramatization of school days is always a welcome bait, whether for the proverbial summer reading or for recreation during the weeks of more serious work which are supposed to follow the summer recess. The author intersperses humor with the epic, and sees to it that all ends well for the virtuous.

Four volumes have recently been added to the series of "Academy Classics for Junior High Schools", published by Allyn & Bacon. These newcomers are (1) *Prairie Song and Western Story,* which is made up of selections from Hamlin Garland's stories and essays of the settlement of the Middle West; (2) Dickens's *A Christmas Carol* and *The Cricket on the Hearth;* (3) *The Magic Spear,* which is a collection of readings from both contemporary literature and the traditional classics; (4) *Ballads and Other Narrative Poems,* ancient and modern.

These four handy volumes have been prepared for seventh and eighth grade pupils. Many helpful illustrations are scattered through each volume. Pupils of an older generation will find here many an echo of earlier years and many a pleasant memory of days long gone by.

Books Received

SCRIPTURAL.

FROM TARSUS TO ROME. The Story of the First Christian Hierarchy. By Herman J. Heuser, D.D., author of *The Life of Canon Sheehan,* etc. Longmans, Green & Co., London, New York, Toronto. 1929. Pp. ix—167. Price, $2.00.

ABOUT THE OLD TESTAMENT. By the Most Rev. Alban Goodier, S.J., Archbishop of Hierapolis. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, San Francisco. 1929. Pp. viii—196. Price, $1.95.

JUNIOR BIBLE HISTORY. Old and New Testament. By the Rev. Charles Hart, B.A., for forty years Master at St. Cuthbert's Grammar School, Newcastle-on-Tyne; author of *A Manual of Bible History, A Shorter Bible History, The Students' Catholic Doctrine,* etc. Illustrated by the Benedictines of Talacre. P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York. 1928. Pp. xi—243. Price, $1.10 *postpaid.*

OLD TESTAMENT LESSONS FOR CHILDREN. By A. H. Sidney. Sands & Co., London and Edinburgh; B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis. 1928. Pp. 108. Price, $1.00 *net.*

DIE APOKALYPSE DES APOSTELS JOHANNES UND DIE HELLENISTISCHE KOSMOLOGIE UND ASTROLOGIE. Eine Auseinandersetzung mit den Hauptergebnissen der Untersuchung Franz Bolls: "Aus der Offenbarung Johannis". Von Dr. Joseph Freundorfer, Privatdozent an der Universität München. (*Biblische Studien.* Begründet von Prof. Dr. Otto Bardenhewer. Fortgeführt von Dr. Joh. Göttsberger, Professor der Alttestamentlichen Exegese in München, und Dr. Jos. Sickenberger, Professor der Neutestamentlichen Exegese in München. XXIII. Band, I. Heft.) B. Herder Book Co., Freiburg im Breisgau, St. Louis and London. 1929. Pp. xv—148. Price, $1.65.

THEOLOGICAL AND DEVOTIONAL.

GOD'S MOTHER AND OURS. By Sister Marie Paula, Ph.D., College of Mt. St. Vincent, New York. Preface by the Rev. Thomas J. Doyle, Pastor of St. Margaret's Church, New York City. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, San Francisco. 1929. Pp. ix—147. Price, $1.85 *postpaid.*

VITA CHRISTI. Meditations on Our Lord's Public Life for the time after Pentecost. By Mother St. Paul, Religious of the Retreat of the Sacred Heart, author of *Sponsa Christi,* etc. The First Year. Longmans, Green & Co., London, New York, Toronto. 1929. Pp. xii—162. Price, $2.00.

THE SPIRIT OF CATHOLICISM. By Dr. Karl Adam, Professor of Catholic Theology in the University of Tübingen. Translated by Dom Justin McCann, O.S.B., Master of St. Benet's Hall, Oxford. Macmillan Co., New York. 1929. Pp. x—237. Price, $2.00.

A VISIT TO THE STIGMATIZED SEER, THERESE NEUMANN. By Monsignor Joseph Messmer and the Right Rev. Bishop Sigismund Waitz, D.D. Translated from the German by a Member of the Dominican Order. John P. Daleiden Co., Chicago. 1929. Pp. 117. Price, $0.60 *postpaid.*

THE GOLDEN JUBILEE OF PIUS XI AND CATHOLIC LOYALTY. By the Rev. J. P. Treacy, D.D., St. Cecilia's Church, Toronto. Catholic Truth Society of Canada, Inc., Toronto 2. Pp. 32. Price, $0.10.

OUTLINE SERMONS FOR SUNDAYS AND FEAST DAYS. In Accordance with the Spirit of *The Liturgical Year* of Dom Guéranger, O.S.B., Abbot of Solesmes. By the Rev. Peter Geiermann, C.SS.R. B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis and London. 1929. Pp. x—173. Price, $1.50 *net.*

TERESA OF LISIEUX: TRULY A LOVER. By the Rev. John Carr, C.SS.R. With Foreword by the Most Rev. Dr. Collier, Bishop of Ossory. With two illustrations. Second edition. Sands & Co., London and Edinburgh. 1929. Pp. 71. Price, *2/– net.*

THE LIFE OF ST. SIMON STOCK. By the Most Rev. P. E. Magennis, Prior General of the Carmelites. Carmelite Press, 338 East 29th Street, New York. Pp. 79. Price: cloth, $0.50; paper, $0.25.

A COMPENDIUM OF CATECHETICAL INSTRUCTION. Edited by the Right Rev. Monsignor John Hagan, Rector, Irish College, Rome. Vol. I: Preface, Contents, Homiletic Adaptation, Introduction. Vol. II: The Sacraments. Vol. III: The Commandments. Vol. IV: On Prayer. With an Appendix on the Virtues and Vices and an Alphabetical Index. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, San Francisco. 1928. Pp. lxxix—471, xi—536, xi—573 and xi—550. Price, $22.50.

PLAIN REASONS FOR BEING A CATHOLIC. By the Very Rev. Albert Power, S.J., M.A., Rector of Corpus Christi College, Melbourne; author of *Six World Problems, Our Lady's Titles,* etc. Frederick Pustet Co., New York and Cincinnati. 1929. Pp. x—203. Price, $2.00 *net.*

THE WOUNDED WORLD. A Course of Sermons. By C. C. Martindale, S.J. B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis; Sheed & Ward, London. 1929. Pp. 95. Price, $0.90 *net.*

LOVE, COURTSHIP, AND MARRIAGE. By Eithne, author of *My Pretty Maid,* etc. With a Foreword by the Most Rev. P. Collier, D.D., Co-adjutor Bishop of Ossory. Sands & Co., London and Edinburgh; B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis. Pp. 94. Price, $0.50 *net.*

THE CHURCH ON EARTH. By the Rev. R. A. Knox, M.A. Introduction by the Right Rev. Monsignor James H. Ryan, Rector of the Catholic University of America. (*The Treasury of the Faith Series,* 20. General Editor: The Rev. George D. Smith, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Dogmatic Theology at St. Edmund's College, Old Hall.) Macmillan Co., New York. 1929. Pp. 90. Price, $0.60.

PERSONAL RELIGION. By Léonce de Grandmaison, S.J. Translated with an Introductory Foreword by Algar Thorold. B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis; Sheed & Ward, London. 1929. Pp. 134. Price, $1.25 *net.*

ORDINARY OF THE MASS. Prepared by a Paulist Father. Paulist Press, New York. Pp. 32.

RETREAT DISCOURSES AND MEDITATIONS FOR RELIGIOUS. By the Rev. J. P. Toussaint, former Redemptorist Missionary. From the German by the Rev. J. P. Miller, C.SS.R. B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis and London. 1929. Pp. vi—394. Price, $2.50 *net*.

RETREAT READINGS. Some Thoughts for Those Making Retreats. By the Rev. E. F. Garesché, S.J., M.A., LL.B. With Preface by the Most Rev. S. G. Messmer, D.D., Archbishop of Milwaukee. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago. 1929. Pp. xiii—185. Price, $1.30 *postpaid*.

THE SACRAMENT OF PENANCE. By the Rev. H. Harrington, M.A., Introduction by the Very Rev. John F. Fenlon, S.S., S.T.D., President of St. Mary's Seminary and University, Baltimore, Md. (*The Treasury of the Faith Series*, 27. General Editor: The Rev. George D. Smith, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Dogmatic Theology at St. Edmund's College, Old Hall.) Macmillan Co., New York. 1929. Pp. ix—87. Price, $0.60.

SERMONS ON ST. THÉRÈSE OF THE CHILD JESUS. By Fr. Francis Xavier of St. Teresa, O.D.C., Vice Postulator General of the Cause of the Servants of God of the Order of Discalced Carmelites. Translated from the Italian by a Religious of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus. Macmillan Co., New York. 1928. Pp. 100.

THE OLD TESTAMENT CALLING! By Elsie Lindsey Smith. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago. 1929. Pp. v—203. Price, $2.00.

MYSTICAL PRAYER ACCORDING TO ST. FRANCIS DE SALES. By Auguste Saudreau. Translated by A. E. H. Swinstead. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago. 1929. Pp. ix—59. Price, $0.75.

THE SPIRIT OF CHARITY. By M. C. D'Arcy, S.J. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago. 1929. Pp. xi—97. Price, $1.00.

FAITH AND REVEALED TRUTH. By the Rev. George D. Smith, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Dogmatic Theology at St. Edmund's College, Old Hall. Introduction by the Rev. Wm. J. Duane, S.J., President of Fordham University, New York. (*The Treasury of the Faith Series*, 1. Dr. Smith is also General Editor of this Series.) Macmillan Co., New York. 1929. Pp. ix—89. Price, $0.60.

PAX CHRISTI. Letters to a Young Seminarist. By the Rev. Edmund J. Goebel, Vice-Rector of Pio Nono High School, St. Francis, Wisconsin. Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee, New York, Chicago. 1929. Pp. 203. Price, $1.50.

THE STORY OF BLESSED JOHN FISHER. By Noel Macdonald Wilby. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago. 1929. Pp. viii—184. Price, $1.70.

MYSTICAL PRAYER ACCORDING TO ST. JANE DE CHANTAL. By Auguste Saudreau. Translated by A. E. H. Swinstead. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, San Francisco. 1929. Pp. ix—92. Price, $0.75.

THE UNSEEN WORLD. An Exposition of Catholic Theology in Reference to Modern Spiritism. By His Eminence Henry M. Cardinal Lepicier, O.S.M. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, San Francisco. 1929. Pp. xix—332. Price, $2.75.

A RETREAT UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF SAINT TERESA. Drawn from Her Writings. By Mother Mary of the Blessed Sacrament, Carmelite Nun. With a Letter of Commendation from H. E. Cardinal Mercier, Archbishop of Malines. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, San Francisco. 1929. Pp. xxviii—316. Price, $3.50.

WE PREACH CHRIST CRUCIFIED. Considerations and Meditations for Boys. By Herbert Lucas, S.J. Sands & Co., London and Edinburgh; B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis. 1907. Pp. viii—328. Price, $1.50 *net*.

THE BLESSED VIRGIN—HER TIMES: HER LIFE: HER VIRTUES. An Historical Study. By Canon Ch. Cordonnier, of the Metropolitan Chapter of Rouen, Missionary Apostolic. Translated by a Sister of Charity. Sands & Co., London and Edinburgh; B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis. 1928. Pp. 256. Price, $2.00 *net.*

SPIRITUAL EXERCISES OF A DOMINICAN FRIAR. Being ghostly meditations, and a near way to come to perfection and life contemplative. Very profitable for religious and all other that desire to come to perfect love of God and to the contempt of the world. Collected and set forth by the help of God and diligent labor of F. William Perin, Bachelor of Divinity and Prior of the Friars Preachers of Great St. Bartholomew in Smithfield. Edited by C. Kirchberger and now republished with a foreword by F. Vincent McNabb, O.P. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago. 1929. Pp. xxv—101. Price, $1.00.

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